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ANTIOCHUS and STRATONICE.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, now Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

THE SEVENTH EDITION

Illuſtrated with COPPER-PLATES, and a Set of MAPS of Ancient Geography, coloured, drawn by the *Sieur D'Anville*, Geographer to the King of *France*.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. RIVINGTON AND SONS, W. OWEN, T. CASLON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, T. LOWNDES, G. ROBINSON, T. CARNAN, W. STUART, J. KNOX, H. GARDNER, W. FOX, E. JOHNSTON, AND R. BALDWIN.

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BOOK THE EIGHTEENTH.

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(a) I Related in the preceding volume how Ptolemy Philopator, worn out with riots and exceſſes, had come to his end, after having reigned ſeventeen years. As the only perſons preſent when that monarch expired were Agathocles, his ſiſter, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as poſſible from the publick, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They alſo formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late king, A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204.

(a) Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv. p. 712—720.

king, by uſurping the regency during the minority of his ſon, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might be eaſily done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had ſucceeded Soſibis in the miniſtry; and accordingly they concerted meaſures to diſpatch him.

At laſt they informed the publick of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the * Macedonians was aſſembled, on which Agathocles and Agathoclea were preſent. Agathocles, after ſhedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told them that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians. That for this reaſon he was come to implore their aſſiſtance againſt Tlepolemus, who, as he had certain advice, had formed the deſign of uſurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witneſſes expreſsly to prove his treaſon, and at the ſame time offered to produce them. He imagined that by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately diſpatched, and that in conſequence he might eaſily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too groſs, and the people immediately ſwore the deſtruction of Agathocles, his ſiſter, and all their creatures. This laſt attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria roſe againſt them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and ſeated on the throne in Hippodrome. After which Agathocles, his ſiſter, and Œinanthe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace expoſed their dead bodies to all the indignities poſſible; dragging them through the ſtreets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the ſame treatment, and not one of them was

* *Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who deſcended from the Macedonians, poſterity of the founders of Alexandria, or of thoſe to whom the ſame and the privileges had been granted.*

was ſpared. The uſual and juſt end of thoſe unworthy favourites, who abuſe the confidence of their ſovereign to oppreſs the people, and who never puniſh thoſe who reſemble themſelves.

Philammon, the aſſaſſin, who had been hired to murther Arſinoe, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria, two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and taking this opportunity, which the diſtractions of the city gave them, they reſolved to revenge their miſtreſs's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the houſe where he was, and killed him with clubs and ſtones.

The care of the king's perſon, till otherwiſe provided for, was given to Soſibes, ſon to him who had governed during the three laſt reigns. Hiſtory does not inform us whether he was ſtill alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had paſſed above threeſcore years in the adminiſtration. (*b*) No miniſter was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Soſibes. He made no ſcruple of committing the blackeſt crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murther of Lyſimachus ſon of Ptolemy, and of Arſinoe daughter of that Lyſimachus; of Magis ſon of Ptolemy, and of Berenice daughter of Magas; of Berenice mother to Ptolemy Philopator; of Cleomenes king of Sparta; and laſtly, of Arſinoe daughter of Berenice. It is ſurpriſing that, notwithſtanding a conduct of ſo much inhumanity and cruelty in his adminiſtration, he ſhould ſupport himſelf ſo long, and at laſt come to a peaceable end.

(*c*) Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had diſcovered the ſtrongeſt zeal for the intereſt of that monarch, and were ready to aſſiſt him on all occaſions. Yet, no ſooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and A. M. 3801. Ant. J. C. 203.

(*b*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 64.

(*c*) Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. Id. l. xv. p. 707, & 708.

juſtice enjoined them not to diſturb in the poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom, but they immediately join in a criminal alliance, and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Lybia, Cyrenacia, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the reſt. With this view, the latter entered Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; and, in leſs than two campaigns, made an entire conqueſt of thoſe two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt ſays Polybius, would not have been quite ſo glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloſs over their crimes with ſome ſpecious pretence; but ſo far from doing this, their injuſtice and cruelty were ſo barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally ſaid of fiſhes, that the large ones, though of the ſame ſpecies, prey on the leſſer. One would be tempted, continues the ſame author, at ſeeing the moſt ſacred laws of ſociety ſo openly violated, to accuſe Providence of being indifferent and inſenſible to the moſt horrid crimes. But it fully juſtified its conduct, by puniſhing thoſe two kings according to their deſerts; and made ſuch an example of them, as ought in all ſucceeding ages to deter others from following their example. For, whilſt they are meditating to diſpoſſeſs a weak and helpleſs infant of his kingdom, by piece-meal, Providence raiſed up the Romans againſt them, who entirely ſubverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and reduced their ſucceſſors to almoſt as great calamities, as thoſe with which they intended to cruſh the infant king.

(*d*) During that time, Philip was engaged in a war againſt the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconſiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the iſland of Lade, oppoſite to the city of Miletus.

A.M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. (*e*) The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in aſſaulting that city being to no purpoſe, he turned his rage and fury againſt the gods; and

(*d*) Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 70, & 73. (*e*) Polyb. Ib. p. 66. Diod. Ib. p. 294.

and not ſatisfied with burning their temples, he demoliſhed ſtatues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the ſtones from their foundations, that not the leaſt footſteps of them might remain.

He was not more ſucceſsful againſt the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent ſucceſs, he ventured a ſecond battle off the iſland of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with conſiderable loſs. There were killed, in his army, three thouſand Macedonians, and ſix thouſand allies; and two thouſand Macedonians and confederates, with ſeven hundred Egyptians, were taken priſoners. The Rhodians loſt but ſixty men, and Attalus threeſcore and ten.

Philip aſcribed all the glory of this engagement to himſelf, and that for two reaſons: The firſt was, that having repulſed Attalus to the ſhore, he had taken that prince's ſhip; and the ſecond, that having caſt anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had ſtopped even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he aſſumed the beſt air he could, he was ſenſible of his great loſs, and could neither conceal it from others, nor himſelf. This prince had never loſt ſo great a number of men either by ſea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and it viſibly damped his natural vivacity.

(f) Nevertheleſs, the ill ſucceſs of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was to be unſhaken in his reſolutions; and not to be dejected by diſappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible conſtancy and perſeverance; and accordingly he continued the war with freſh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date, about this time, the cruelties which Philip exerciſed over the Cianians; a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which have unhappily been loſt. Cios, whoſe inhabitants are called Cianians, was a ſmall A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201.

(f) Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733—739. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 745. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb. l. xv. p. 709—711.

city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it, had been raiſed to that poſt by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he beſieged it at the requeſt of his ſon-in-law Pruſias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received ſome inſult from it. The city was in all probability taken by ſtorm. A great number of the inhabitants ſuffered the moſt cruel torments; the reſt were reduced to a ſtate of captivity, which to them was worſe than death; and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius ſeems to aſcribe its deſtruction to the imprudence of the Cianians themſelves, who uſed to beſtow all poſts and preferments on their moſt worthleſs citizens; and to follow ſo blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to perſecute thoſe who ventured to oppoſe them. He adds, that a people, who act in this manner, plunge voluntarily into the greateſt calamities; and that it is ſurpriſing they do not correct themſelves in this reſpect by the experience of all ages; which ſhow, that the ruin of the moſt powerful ſtates is ſolely owing to the ill choice of thoſe to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the adminiſtration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Cherſoneſus, where ſeveral cities ſurrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos ſhut her gates againſt him, and even refuſed to hear the deputies he had ſent, ſo that he was forced to beſiege it. This city is in Aſia, and ſtands on the narroweſt part of the Helleſpont, now called the Dardanelles, and oppoſite to the city of Seſtus in Europe. The diſtance between theſe two cities was about two miles. The reader will ſuppoſe, that Abydos muſt be a city of great importance, as it commanded the ſtraits, and made thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of it, maſters of the communication between the Euxine Sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing

Nothing of what is generally practiſed, in the aſſaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this ſiege. No place was ever defended with greater obſtinacy, which might be ſaid at lengh, on the ſide of the beſieged, to have roſe to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own ſtrength, they repulſed with the greateſt vigour the firſt approaches of the Macedonians. On the ſide next the ſea, the machines of war no ſooner came forward, but they immediately were either diſmounted by the baliſtæ, or conſumed by fire. Even the ſhips, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the beſiegers ſaved them. On the land ſide, the Abydonians alſo defended themſelves for ſome time with great courage, and did not deſpair even of defeating the enemy. But, finding that the outward wall was ſapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inward one, which had been raiſed to ſupply the place of the other, they ſent deputies to Philip, offering to ſurrender their city upon the following conditions: that ſuch forces, as had been ſent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, ſhould return to their reſpective ſovereigns under his ſafe-conduct; and that all free citizens ſhould retire whitherſoever they pleaſed with the clothes they then had on. Philip anſwering, that the Abydonians had only to chooſe, whether they would ſurrender at diſcretion, or continue to defend themſelves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the beſieged, in tranſports of deſpair aſſemble together, and conſider what was to be done. They came to this reſolution; firſt, that the ſlaves ſhould be ſet at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmoſt vigour: ſecondly, that all the women ſhould be ſhut up in the temple of Diana, and all the children, with their nurſes, in the Gymnaſium: that this being done, they then ſhould bring into the great ſquare all the gold and ſilver in the city, and carry all the reſt of the valuable effects into the * Quadrireme of the Rhodians, and the Tri-

 reme

* Quadriremes *were gallies with four benches of oars, and* Triremes *thoſe with three.*

reme of the Cizycenians. This reſolution having paſſed unanimouſly, another aſſembly was called, in which they choſe fifty of the wiſeſt and moſt ancient of the citizens, but at the ſame time had vigour enough left to execute what ſhould have been determined; and they were made to take an oath in preſence of all the inhabitants, that the inſtant they ſaw the enemy maſter of the inward wall, they ſhould kill the women and children, ſet fire to the two gallies laden with their effects, and throw into the ſea all their gold and ſilver which they had heaped together: then ſending for their prieſts, they took an oath either to conquer or die, ſword in hand; and after having ſacrificed the victims, they obliged the prieſts and prieſteſſes to pronounce, before the altar, the greateſt curſes on thoſe who ſhould break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and reſolved, the inſtant the wall ſhould fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the laſt. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the beſieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with ſuch unparalleled bravery, that tho' Philip had perpetually ſuſtained with freſh ſoldiers thoſe who had mounted to the aſſault; yet when night ſeparated the combatants, he was ſtill doubtful with regard to the ſucceſs of the ſiege. Such Abydonians as marched firſt to the breach, over the heaps of the ſlain, fought with fury; and not only made uſe of their ſwords and javelins, but, after their arms were broke to pieces or forced out of their hands, they ruſhed furiouſly upon the Macedonians knocked down ſome, and broke the ſariſſæ or long ſpears of others, and with the pieces ſtruck their faces and ſuch parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely deſpair of the event.

When night had put an end to the ſlaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians; and thoſe who had eſcaped, were ſo prodigiouſly fatigued, and had received ſo many wounds, that they could ſcarce ſupport themſelves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal

cipal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful reſolution that had been taken, and which at that time diſplayed itſelf to their imaginations in all its horrour, agreed, that to ſave their wives and children, they ſhould ſend to Philip, by day-break, all their prieſts and prieſteſſes, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open their gates to him.

Accordingly, next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was ſurrendered to Philip; during which the greateſt part of the Abydonians who ſurvived, vented millions of imprecations againſt their fellow-citizens, and eſpecially againſt the prieſts and prieſteſſes, for delivering up to the enemy thoſe whom they themſelves had devoted to death with the moſt dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and ſeiſed, without the leaſt oppoſition, all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But now he was greatly terrified with the ſpectacle he ſaw. Among theſe ill-fated citizens, whom deſpair had made furious and diſtracted, ſome were ſtrangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their ſwords; ſome were running to murther them, others were plunging them into wells, whilſt others again were precipitating them from the tops of houſes; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrours. Philip, pierced with grief, and ſeiſed with horrour at this ſpectacle, ſtopped the ſoldiers who were greedy of plunder, and publiſhed a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were reſolved to lay violent hands on themſelves. He was in hopes, that during this interval they would change their reſolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from thoſe who had loſt their lives in fighting for their country, ſhould they ſurvive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none eſcaped this murtherous expedition, but thoſe whoſe hands were tied, or were otherwiſe kept from deſtroying themſelves.

A little before the city ſurrendered, an ambaſſador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embaſſy was A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201.

was ſent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had juſt before ſpread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that ſo glorioufly (with regard to the Romans) terminated the ſecond Punick war. (*g*) The court of Egypt, being in ſo much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus againſt their infant king, had addreſſed the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianſhip of the king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch had deſired it at his death. It was the intereſt of the Romans not to ſuffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increaſe, by the addition of ſo many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time conſiſted. It was not difficult to foreſee, that they would ſoon be engaged in war with thoſe two princes, with one of whom they already had ſome differences which threatened much greater. For theſe reaſons they had not heſitated in accepting the guardianſhip; and in conſequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their reſolution, and to enjoin them not to infeſt the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwiſe they ſhould be forced to declare war againſt them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring ſo generouſly in favour of an oppreſſed infant monarch, was making a juſt and noble uſe of their power.

At the ſame time there arrived in Rome ambaſſadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain alſo of the enterpriſes of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in perſon or by his deputies, was ſolliciting ſeveral cities of Aſia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating ſome great deſign. This was a freſh motive for haſtening the departure of the three ambaſſadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the ſiege of Abydos, they ſent to Philip the youngeſt of their colleagues,

(*g*) Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 2, & 3. & l. xxxi. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, 2, & 18.

colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been obſerved, arrived at Abydos the time that the city was upon the point of being ſurrendered. Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered, in the name of the ſenate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the ſtates of Greece; nor to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a juſt arbitration his pretenſions upon Attalus and the Rhodians. That, provided he acquieſced with theſe remonſtrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refuſed, the Romans would proclaim war againſt him. Philip endeavoured to ſhow, that the Rhodians had occaſioned the rupture. *But*, ſays Æmilius, interrupting him, *did the Athenians and Abydonians attack you firſt?* Philip *, who had not been uſed to hear truth, offended at the boldneſs of ſuch an anſwer addreſſed to a king; *Your age*, ſays he to the ambaſſador, *your beauty* (for Polybius informs us that this ambaſſador had really a fine perſon) *and eſpecially the Roman name, exalt your pride to a prodigious degree. For my part, I wiſh your republick may obſerve punctually the treaties it has concluded with me: but, in caſe I ſhould be invaded by it, I hope to ſhow, that the empire of Macedonia does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation.* The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this anſwer, and Philip having taken that city, left a ſtrong garriſon in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius ſeems to have gone into Egypt, whilſt the two other ambaſſadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius, being arrived at Alexandria, aſſumed the guardianſhip of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, purſuant to the inſtructions he had received from the ſenate at his ſetting out; and ſettled every thing to as much advantage as the ſtate of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Ariſtomenes

* Inſueto vera audire, ferocior oratio viſa eſt, quàm quæ habenda apud regem eſſet. *Ætas*, inquit, *& forma, & ſuper omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primùm velim vos fœderum memores ſervare mecum pacem. Si bello laceſſeritis, mihi quoque in animo eſt facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minùs quàm Romanum nobile bello ſentiatis.* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 18.

menes the Acarnanian to ſuperintend the education and perſon of the young monarch, and made him prime miniſter. This Ariſtomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmoſt prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

(*b*) In the mean time the forces of Philip laid Attica waſte, the pretence of which invaſion was as follows. Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the grand myſteries were ſolemnizing there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbid. Though their fault proceeded intirely from ignorance, they were immediately maſſacred, as guilty of impiety and ſacrilege. The Acarnanians, juſtly exaſperated at ſo cruel a treatment, had recourſe to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces, with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with ſpoils.

(*i*) The Athenians carried their complaints againſt this enterpriſe to Rome, and were joined on that occaſion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only ſought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceaſing to infeſt the allies who were included in it. He had juſt before ſent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was ſpread, that he was at that time very buſy in Aſia. This made the Romans uneaſy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon them, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war againſt Carthage, they imagined it adviſeable to prevent the enterpriſes of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in caſe they ſhould give him time to increaſe his ſtrength. The ſenate, after making ſuch an anſwer as pleaſed all the ambaſſadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the proprætor,

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14. (*i*) Ibid. n. 1—3.

proprætor, to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

(*k*) In the mean time the Roman ſenate deliberated ſeriouſly on what was to be done in the preſent juncture. At the very time it aſſembled to conſider that important affair, a ſecond embaſſy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in perſon; and that in caſe they were not immediately ſuccoured, he would infallibly make himſelf maſter of Athens. They alſo received letters from Levinus the proprætor, and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed that they had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe that Philip had ſome deſign againſt them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to loſe.

(*l*) Upon this news, the Romans reſolved to proclaim war againſt Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the conſul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to ſea with an army, and ſoon arrived there. Here he was ſoon informed that Athens was beſieged, and implored his aſſiſtance. He detached a ſquadron of twenty gallies, commanded by Claudius Cento, who ſet ſail that inſtant. Philip had not laid ſiege to Athens in perſon, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpoſe; having taken the field in perſon againſt Attalus and the Rhodians. A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.

SECT. II. *Expeditions of the conſul* SULPITIUS *in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themſelves.* PHILIP *loſes a battle.* VILLIUS *ſucceeds* SULPITIUS. *No conſiderable tranſaction happens during his government.* FLAMINIUS *ſucceeds him.* ANTIOCHUS *recovers Cœloſyria, of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed by* ARISTOMENES *the prime miniſter of Egypt. Various expeditions of the conſul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans.*

(*m*) CLAUDIUS Cento, whom the conſul had ſent to ſuccour Athens, having entered the Piræeus with his gallies, revived the drooping courage of A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.

(*k*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 5. (*l*) Ibid. n. 14. (*m*) Ibid. n. 22—26.

of the inhabitants. He was not ſatisfied with ſecuring the city and the country round it; but having advice that the garriſon of Chalcis did not obſerve the leaſt order or diſcipline, as remote from danger, he ſailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the ſentinels aſleep, entered it without moleſtation; ſet fire to the publick magazines which were full of corn, and to the arſenal that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garriſon to pieces; and after carrying on board his ſhips the immenſe booty he had amaſſed, he returned to the Piræeus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the inſtant he heard of the diſaſter which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither, in hopes of ſurpriſing the Romans. However, they were gone; ſo that he ſeemed to have come for no other purpoſe, but to be ſpectator of that city, ſtill burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the ſame manner, if one of the couriers, called Hemerodromi *, who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was poſted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all aſleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before day-break. Perceiving that this ſtratagem had not taken effect, he reſolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their ſoldiers in battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylos; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed ſeveral of them with his own hand, repulſed them back into the city, whither he did not think it adviſeable to purſue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country ſeats, on the place for the publick exerciſes, as the Lyceum, and eſpecially on ſuch temples as ſtood without the city; ſetting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not ſparing either the tombs or the moſt ſacred places. He marched from hence with a view of ſurpriſing Eleuſis, where his project alſo proved abortive. He then proceeded towards

* *They were ſo called from running a great number of miles in one day.*

towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their aſſembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had ſucceeded Machanidas, and infeſted the whole country with his incurſions. Philip offered to charge himſelf entirely with that war, and his propoſal was received with univerſal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much; that they ſhould furniſh him with as many troops as were neceſſary for garriſoning Cræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they ſhould not leave the places behind him without defence whilſt he was fighting for them. They perceived that his deſign was to draw out of Peloponneſus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himſelf maſter of it, and engage it in the war againſt the Romans. Cycliadus, who preſided in the aſſembly, eluded the propoſal, by obſerving, that it was not allowed, by their laws, to debate on any ſubject but that for which the aſſembly had been ſummoned. They therefore broke up, after having reſolved upon the war againſt Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a ſecond attempt upon Athens, which ſucceeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of ſuch temples, ſtatues, and valuable works as remained in that country. After this expedition he retired into Bœotia.

(*n*) The conſul, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, ſent to Macedonia a conſiderable detachment, under the command of Apuſtius the lieutenant, who laid waſte the plains and took ſeveral ſmall cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians to their ſide. They were now going to hold their general aſſembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, ſent their ambaſſadors; he who was deputed by Philip ſpoke firſt. All

(*n*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 27—32.

All he required was, that the Ætolians ſhould obſerve ſtrictly the treaties of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how uſeleſs their alliance with the Romans was to them. He inſtanced ſeveral cities, of which that people had poſſeſſed themſelves, upon pretence of ſuccouring them, as Syracuſe, Tarentum, Capua; the laſt city eſpecially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the ſkeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither ſenate, inhabitants, or magiſtrates; more barbarouſly uſed by thoſe who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely deſtroyed it. "If foreigners," ſays he, "who differ from us more by their language, "their manners, and their laws, than by the wide "diſtance of land and ſea which ſeparate us from "them, ſhould diſpoſſeſs us of this country, it would "be ridiculous in us to expect more humane treatment "from them than their neighbours have met with. "Among us, who are of the ſame country, whether "Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who "ſpeak the ſame language, ſlight diſputes may ariſe "with little or no conſequence or duration; but with "foreigners, with Barbarians, we, whilſt we are Greeks, "are, and ſhall for ever be at war. This time three "years you concluded a peace with Philip in this very "place; now the ſame cauſes ſtill ſubſiſt; and we "hope that you will act in the ſame manner."

The Athenian ambaſſadors, by the conſent of the Romans, ſpoke next. They began by diſplaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and ſacrilegious fury which Philip had exerciſed on the moſt ſacred monuments of Attica, on the moſt auguſt temples, and the moſt aweful tombs; as if he had declared war, not only againſt men, and the living, but againſt the manes of the dead, and the majeſty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece muſt expect the ſame treatment, if Philip ſhould have the like occaſion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compaſſion of Athens, and to undertake, under the auſpices

auſpices of the gods, and of the Romans, whoſe power only that of the gods could equal, ſo juſt a war as that propoſed to them.

The Roman ambaſſador, after having refuted very circumſtantially the reproaches of the Macedonians, with reſpect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities ſuffer; and exemplified in Carthage, which, but juſt before, had been allowed a peace, and was reſtored to its liberty; declared, that the only circumſtance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildneſs and lenity which they exerciſed towards thoſe they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms againſt them, becauſe the vanquiſhed might depend on the Roman clemency. He repreſented in a ſhort, but ſtrong and pathetick ſpeech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murthers committed by him on his own family, and his friends, his infamous debaucheries, which were ſtill more deteſted than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the perſons whom he then addreſſed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But, to confine my ſpeech to what relates directly "to you," ſays the ambaſſador, addreſſing himſelf to the Ætolians, "we engaged in the war againſt Phi-"lip, in no other view but to defend you; and you "have concluded a ſeparate peace with him. Poſſi-"bly you may obſerve in your own juſtification, that "ſeeing us employed in the war againſt the Carthaginians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged "to ſubmit to whatever conditions the victor was "pleaſed to preſcribe; whilſt we, on the other ſide, "employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected "a war which you had renounced. However, having "now put an end (thanks to the gods) to the Car-"thaginian war, we are going to turn the whole "force of our arms againſt Macedonia. This gives "you an opportunity of returning to our friendſhip "and alliance, unleſs you ſhould chooſe to periſh in-"gloriouſly with Philip, rather than conquer with "the Romans."

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this ſpeech would gain all the voices. It is ſaid, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without ſeeming inclined on either ſide, he repreſented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the aſſembly would otherwiſe have had; and boaſted his having done a very eſſential ſervice to the republick, which now (he ſaid) might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the ſtrongeſt party.

(*c*) In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by ſea and land; but the conſul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Daſſaretæ, and Philip had alſo taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each ſent out a detachment upon the diſcovery, and the two parties met. As both conſiſted entirely of choſen troops, a bloody ſkirmiſh enſued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed on the ſpot.

The king, perſuaded that the care he ſhould take to bury thoſe who had loſt their lives in this ſkirmiſh, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his ſoldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his ſervice, cauſed their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witneſſes of the honours paid to their memory. * Nothing is leſs to be relied upon than the ſentiments and diſpoſitions of the vulgar. This ſpectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the ſoldiers, had a quite contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians who employed ſcarce any other weapons but arrows, javelins, and lances; and for that reaſon the wounds they made were not ſo deep. But when they

(*c*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33—39.

* Nihil tam incertum nec tam inæſtimabile eſt, quàm animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad ſubeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incuſſit. *Liv.*

they ſaw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gaſhes made by the Spaniſh ſabres, whole arms cut off, ſhoulders lopped away, and heads ſeparated from the bodies, they were terrified at the ſight, and plainly perceived againſt what kind of enemy they were to act.

The king himſelf, who had never ſeen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this ſight. Being informed by ſome deſerters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides and marched thither with his army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; and poſted himſelf at a little above two hundred paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches and ſtrong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and diſpoſition of the Roman camp, he cried out, * That what he ſaw was not the camp of Barbarians.

The conſul and the king were quiet for the firſt two days, each waiting till the other ſhould make ſome movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached againſt the enemy a body conſiſting of but fifteen hundred men, the one half horſe, and the other foot; againſt whom the Romans oppoſed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided with no leſs prudence an ambuſcade which the king had laid for them. Theſe two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by ſtratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman ſoldiers. The conſul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repoſe he led them out and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and for that reaſon he lay cloſe in his camp, in ſpite of all the inſults and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanneſs of ſpirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay ſo near one an-

* *The ſame words are aſcribed to Pyrrhus.*

other, would be very dangerous, the conſul drew off to about eight miles diſtance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers diſperſed themſelves all over the neigbouring country in ſeparate platoons. The king at firſt lay cloſe in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reaſon be leſs vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreſeen. When he ſaw great numbers of them ſpread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a ſudden with all his horſe, whom the Cretans followed as faſt as it was poſſible for infantry to march, and rode full ſpeed to poſt himſelf between the Roman camp and the foragers. There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them againſt the foragers; ordering them to cut to pieces all who ſhould come in their way; whilſt he himſelf ſeiſed all the paſſes by which they could return. And now nothing was ſeen on all ſides but blood and ſlaughter: during which, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, becauſe ſuch as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and thoſe who guarded the paſſes, killed a much greater number than the others detached in purſuit of the enemy.

At laſt the melancholy news of the ſlaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the conſul ordered the cavalry to march out, and ſuccour their comrades wherever they could: as for himſelf, he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in an hollow ſquare againſt the enemy. The troopers, being diſperſed up and down, loſt their way at firſt; being deceived by the ſhouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of theſe parties fell in with the enemy, and ſkirmiſhes were fought in different places at the ſame time. The warmeſt engagement was where the king himſelf commanded, and which, by the great number of the horſe and foot that compoſed it, formed almoſt an army: not to mention that theſe troops, being prodigiouſly animated by the preſence of the king and the Cretans, who fought cloſe

cloſe together, and with the utmoſt vigour, againſt enemies diſperſed and in diſorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not purſued the Romans ſo vigorouſly, this day might have decided, not only the preſent battle, but perhaps the ſucceſs of the whole war. But, by abandoning themſelves to a raſh and inconſiderate ardour, they fell into the midſt of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the ſoldiers who fled, perceiving the Roman enſigns faced about, and puſhed their horſes againſt the enemy, who were all in diſorder. In an inſtant the face of the battle was quite changed; thoſe who purſued before now flying in their turn. Many were killed in cloſe fight, and many loſt their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the ſword, but ſeveral plunging into moraſſes, were ſwallowed up, with their horſes, in the mire. The king himſelf was in very great danger; for having been thrown by his horſe, which had received a great wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horſe, and mounted him on it: but the man himſelf, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compaſs round the fens, came at laſt to the camp, where he had been given over for loſt.

We have ſeen on many occaſions, and it cannot be too ſtrongly inculcated to thoſe of the military profeſſion, in order to their avoiding the like error, that battles are often loſt by the too great ardour of the officers, who, ſolely intent upon purſuing the enemy, forget and neglect what paſſes in the reſt of the army and ſuffer themſelves to be deprived, through an imprudent deſire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have ſecured.

However, Philip had not loſt a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a ſecond; and was afraid leſt the conqueror ſhould advance to attack him ſuddenly. He therefore diſpatched a herald to the conſul, to deſire a ſuſpenſion of arms, in

order to bury the dead. The conſul, who was at dinner, ſent word that he ſhould have an anſwer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp, ſet out from it, without noiſe, the inſtant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the conſul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to purſue him.

(*d*) Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himſelf with the hopes of intercepting him at ſome paſſes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of ſtones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was ſuperior to all theſe difficulties. The conſul, after laying waſte the country, and ſeiſing upon ſeveral fortreſſes, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had ſet out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event, in order to take up arms, declared without the leaſt heſitation for the Romans, and the Athemanians followed their example. Both people made ſome incurſions into Macedonia, but with ill ſucceſs, Philip having defeated them on ſeveral occaſions. He alſo defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his abſence; and with theſe ſmall advantages, conſoled himſelf for his ill ſucceſs againſt the Romans.

(*e*) In this campaign the Roman fleet joined that of Attalus, and came into the Piræeus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to diſſemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the ſight of ſo powerful a ſuccour. In a free city * like that of Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained ſo great an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever reſolutions

(*d*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 39—43.

(*e*) Ibid. n. 44—47

* Nec unquam ibi deſunt linguæ promptæ ad plebam concitandam: quod genus, cùm in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipuè Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. *Liv.*

reſolutions they pleaſed. Here the people, at their requeſt, ordained that all the ſtatues and images of Philip and his anceſtors ſhould be deſtroyed: that the feſtivals, ſacrifices, and prieſts, eſtabliſhed in their honour, ſhould be aboliſhed: that every place where any monument had been ſet up, or inſcription engraved relating to them, ſhould be declared impure and profane: that the prieſts, every time they offered up prayers to the gods, in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies, and fleets, ſhould alſo utter anathemas and curſes of every kind againſt Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by ſea and land; in a word againſt the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, That whatever might be afterwards propoſed, which tended in any manner to diſhonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people: and that whoſoever ſhould dare to ſay or do any thing in favour of Philip, or againſt the decrees in queſtion, might be killed upon the ſpot without any formality. This laſt clauſe was, That whatever had been enacted againſt the Piſiſtratides, ſhould take place againſt Philip. In this manner the * Athenians made war againſt Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only ſtrength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now laviſhed encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræeus, attacked and took ſeveral fortreſſes and ſmall iſlands; after which Attalus and the Romans ſeparated, and went into winter-quarters.

(f) In Rome the year following, new conſuls being choſen, Vilius had Macedonia for his province. A. M. 3805.

Philip, whilſt he made the ſeveral preparations for carrying on the enſuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the ſucceſs of the war he had Ant. J. C. 199.

(f) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 49. & l. xxxii. n. 3.

* Athenienſes quidem literis bellum adverſus Philippum gereverhiſque, quibus ſolis valent, bant. *Liv.*

undertaken. Beſides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to ſtates, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneaſy at, and diſſatisfied with his government, would rebel againſt him.

To obviate theſe dangers, he gave up ſome cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more ſtrongly to his intereſt by this unexpected generoſity; and at the ſame time he ſent ambaſſadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a ſtrong tye; ſuch a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty; as he himſelf profeſſed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the leaſt ſcruple to forfeit his promiſe, nor ſhow the leaſt veneration for the Supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind conſider as moſt ſacred?

(g) As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by ſacrificing Heraclides, one of his miniſters and confidents, whom the people hated and deteſted on accouut of his rapine and grievous oppreſſions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exerciſed the meaneſt and moſt contemptible offices, and been baniſhed from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of ſenſe, of a lively genius, a daring ſpirit, and at the ſame time ſo inſatiably ambitious, as not to ſcruple the commiſſion of the blackeſt crimes, had attached him to himſelf in a particular manner, and truſted him with all his ſecrets; a fit inſtrument for a prince, who had neither probity or honour. Heraclides, ſays Polybius, was born with all thoſe qualities which conſtitute the finiſhed villain. From his moſt tender years he had proſtituted himſelf in the moſt infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meaneſt and moſt groveling

(g) Polyb. l. xiii. p. 672, 673.

groveling manner towards his ſuperiors. He was in ſuch great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the ſame author, he almoſt ruined that powerful kingdom, by the univerſal diſcontent which his injuſtice and oppreſſion occaſioned. At laſt the king cauſed him to be ſeiſed and thrown into priſon, which occaſioned an univerſal joy amongſt the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this ſubject, hiſtory does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deſerved.

Nothing conſiderable was tranſacted during this campaign, any more than the foregoing, becauſe the conſuls did not enter Macedonia, till very late; and the reſt of the time was ſpent in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, either to force certain paſſes, or carry off convoys. (*b*) T. Quintius * Flamininus having been nominated conſul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predeceſſors, but ſet out from Rome at the opening of the ſpring, with Lucius his brother, who, by the leave of the ſenate, was to command the fleet. A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198.

At the beginning of the year in queſtion, Antiochus invaded Attalus very vigorouſly both by ſea and land. The ambaſſadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the ſenate of the great danger to which their ſovereign was expoſed. They intreated the Romans, in Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republick, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The ſenate made anſwer, That as nothing could be more juſt and reaſonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recall his forces: that the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their credit with Antiochus, to diſſuade him from moleſting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans ſent ambaſſadors to the former,

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 9—15.

* *Plutarch calls him Flaminius, but it is an error, theſe being two different families.*

former who remonſtrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his land as well as naval forces, which they had employed againſt Philip their common enemy: that they ſhould think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that ſuch kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans ſhould be at peace. Theſe remonſtrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The inſtant he had, at the requeſt of the Romans, laid aſide his deſigns againſt that prince, he marched in perſon into Cœloſyria, to recover thoſe cities of which Ariſtomenes had diſpoſſeſſed him. The Romans had entruſted this general with the adminiſtration of Egypt. The firſt thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himſelf againſt the invaſion of the two confederate kings, and for this purpoſe he raiſed the beſt troops he could. (*i*) He ſent Scopas into Ætolia with large ſums of money, to levy as many troops as poſſible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the beſt ſoldiers. (*k*) This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the higheſt poſts in his own country, and was thought to be one of the braveſt and moſt experienced generals of his time. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of being continued in it, but was diſappointed. This gave him diſguſt, ſo that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the ſervice of the king of Egypt. Scopas had ſuch good ſucceſs in his levies, that he brought ſix thouſand ſoldiers from Ætolia; a good re-inforcement for the Egyptian army.

A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.

A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199.

(*l*) The miniſters of Alexandria, ſeeing Antiochus employed in Aſia Minor, in the war which had broke out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, ſent Scopas into Paleſtine and Cœloſyria, to recover, if poſſible, thoſe provinces. He carried on that war ſo ſucceſsfully, that he recovered the ſeveral cities, retook Judæa, threw a garriſon into the citadel of Jeruſalem,

(*i*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43. (*k*) Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.
(*l*) Hieron. in c. xi. Dan. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

lem, and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria, whither he brought (beſides the glory of his victories) exceeding rich ſpoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the ſequel, that the great ſucceſs of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being abſent, and to the little reſiſtance which had therefore been made.

(*m*) He no ſooner arrived there in perſon, but the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the ſource of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great ſlaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he ſhut himſelf up with the ten thouſand men he had left. Antiochus beſieged him in it, and reduced him to ſuch extremities, that being in abſolute want of proviſions, he was forced to ſurrender the city, and content himſelf with having his life ſpared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmoſt efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the beſt generals, at the head of the choiceſt troops of the ſtate, had been ſent to raiſe the ſiege. But Antiochus diſpoſed things ſo happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept of the ignominious conditions above-mentioned; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and diſarmed. A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198.

(*n*) Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with ſo ſtrong a reſiſtance as exaſperated him; and accordingly, having taken it, he abandoned the plunder of it to his ſoldiers. This being done, he ſecured the paſſes through which the troops were to come that might be ſent from Egypt; and, returning back, ſubjected all Paleſtine and Cœloſyria.

(*o*) The inſtant that the Jews, who at that time had reaſon to be diſpleaſed with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced towards their country, they crowded

(*m*) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77, &c. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. (*n*) Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87. & Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19. (*o*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

crowded very zealouſly to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities; being come to Jeruſalem, the prieſts and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and aſſiſted him in driving out of the caſtle the ſoldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for theſe ſervices Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no ſtranger ſhould be allowed acceſs to the inner-part of the temple; a prohibition which ſeemed viſibly to have been made, on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

(*p*) Antiochus, in his eaſtern expedition, had received ſo many ſervices from the Jews of Babylonia and Meſopotamia, and depended ſo much on their fidelity, that when a ſedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he ſent two thouſand Jewiſh families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from theſe Jews, tranſplanted at this time, that deſcended many of thoſe * who were *diſperſed* or *ſcattered abroad*, whom we ſhall afterwards find ſo numerous, eſpecially in the goſpel-times.

Antiochus, having thus ſubjected all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, reſolved, if poſſible, to make the like conqueſts in Aſia Minor. The great object he had in view was, to raiſe the empire of Syria to its priſtine glory, by re-uniting to it all that his predeceſſors had ever poſſeſſed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. (*q*) As it would be neceſſary, for ſucceeding in his deſign, to prevent the Egyptians from moleſting him in his new conqueſts at a time that he ſhould be at a diſtance from his kingdom, he ſent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they ſhould not celebrate their nuptials

(*p*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

* *They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter.* To the twelve tribes which are ſcattered abroad. *Jam.* i. 1. To the ſtrangers ſcattered about Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithynia, 1 *Pet.* i. 1.

(*q*) Hierom. in c. xi. Daniel.

nuptials till they ſhould be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up thoſe provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This propoſal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, relying on his promiſes, ſuffered him to carry on his conqueſts without moleſtation.

I now reſume the affairs of Macedonia. I obſerved that Quintius Flamininus (by either of which names I ſhall call him hereafter) had ſet out from Rome as ſoon as he had been appointed conſul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Vilius encamped in preſence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the paſſes and defiles along the banks of the Apſus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having taken upon himſelf the command of the forces, the firſt thing he did was to conſider and examine the ſituation of the country. As this paſs ſeemed impracticable to an army, becauſe there was but one narrow ſteep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were poſſeſſed of the avenues; he therefore was adviſed to take a large compaſs, as this would bring him to a wide ſmooth road. But, beſides that, he muſt have employed too much time in this winding march, he was afraid to remove too far from the ſea, from whence he had all his proviſions. For this reaſon, he reſolved to go over the mountains, and to force the paſſes, whatever might be the conſequence. A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198.

Philip having in vain made propoſals of peace, in an interview between him and the conſul, was obliged to have recourſe again to arms. Accordingly, ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by ſteep craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, purſuing them to thoſe places, were greatly annoyed; the Macedonians having planted on all theſe rocks catapultæ and baliſtæ, over-

overwhelmed them with ſtones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both ſides, and night ſeparated the combatants.

Matters being in this ſtate, ſome ſhepherds, who fed their ſheep on theſe mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way which was not guarded; and promiſed to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at fartheſt. They brought with them as their guarantee Charops, ſon of Machatas, the perſon of the greateſt diſtinction among the Epirots, who ſecretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus, having ſuch a voucher, ſends a general with four thouſand foot and three hundred horſe. Theſe ſhepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a ſurpriſe, led the detachment. During theſe three days, the conſul contented himſelf with only a few light ſkirmiſhes to amuſe the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he cauſed his whole army to ſtand to their arms; perceiving on the mountains a great ſmoke, which was the ſignal agreed upon between them, he marches directly againſt the enemy, perpetually expoſed to the darts of the Macedonians, and ſtill fighting hand to hand againſt thoſe who guarded the paſſes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulſe the enemy with great vigour into the moſt craggy ways; making great ſhouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter anſwered from the ſummit of it, with a moſt dreadful noiſe; and at the ſame time fall upon the Macedonians, who ſeeing themſelves attacked both in front and rear, are ſtruck with a pannick, and fly with the utmoſt ſpeed. However, not above two thouſand of them were killed, the paths being ſo craggy and ſteep, that it was impoſſible to purſue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and ſeiſed their tents and ſlaves.

Philip had marched at firſt towards Theſſaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and

and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to ſuccour ſuch cities as ſhould be beſieged.

The conſul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waſte the country, although he knew that all perſons of the greateſt diſtinction in it, Charops excepted, had oppoſed the Romans. However, as they ſubmitted with great chearfulneſs, he had a greater regard to their preſent diſpoſition than to their paſt fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Theſſaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken ſeveral cities in that country; and he took the moſt conſiderable of them. Atrax, a city he beſieged, detained him a long time, and made ſo ſtout a defence, that he at laſt was forced to leave it.

(*r*) In the mean time the Roman fleet, re-inforced by thoſe of Attalus and the Rhodians, was alſo active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariſte, garriſoned by Macedonians; after which, the three fleets advanced towards Cenchreæ, a port of Corinth.

The conſul marching into Phocis, moſt of the cities ſurrendered voluntarily. Elatia was the only city that ſhut her gates againſt him; ſo that he was obliged to beſiege it in form. Whilſt he was carrying on this ſiege, he meditated an important deſign; and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying ſiege to Corinth; however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambaſſadors, ſent in the conſul's name by Lucius, his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians carried this meſſage. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loſs in regard to the reſolution it was neceſſary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them

(*r*) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 16—25.

them in awe; and, on the other ſide, they were in ſtill greater dread of the Romans. They had received from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was univerſally ſuſpected upon account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enſlaved by him, when the war ſhould be terminated. Such was the diſpoſition of the Achæans. The Roman ambaſſador ſpoke firſt, and afterwards thoſe of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip: The Athenians were appointed to ſpeak laſt, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambaſſador ſhould advance. They ſpoke with the greateſt virulency againſt the king, becauſe no people had been ſo cruelly treated by him; and they gave a long detail of his injuſtice and cruelty in regard to them. Theſe ſpeeches took up the whole day, ſo that the aſſembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the cuſtom, gave notice, in the name of the magiſtrates, that all thoſe who intended to ſpeak, might begin. But no one roſe up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep ſilence. Upon this Ariſtenes chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, in order that the aſſembly might not break up without doing buſineſs, ſpoke as follows: "What then is become of that "warmth and vigour, with which you uſed to diſpute, "at your tables, and in your converſations, about "Philip and the Romans; which generally roſe to ſo "great a height, that you were ready to cut one ano-"ther's throats? And now, in an aſſembly ſum-"moned for no other purpoſe, after hearing the "ſpeeches and arguments on both ſides, you are "mute! Surely, if the love of your country cannot "looſe your tongues, ought not the reſolution which "each of you has formed in private, either for or "againſt Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to "ſpeak; eſpecially as there is none of you but knows "that it will be too late, after the reſolution ſhall be "once taken?"

Theſe reproaches, though ſo judicious and reaſonable, and made by the principal magiſtrate, could not prevail with any one of the members to give his opinion; nor even occaſioned the leaſt murmur, the leaſt noiſe in this aſſembly, though very numerous, and compoſed of the repreſentatives of ſo many ſtates. Every body continued dumb and motionleſs.

Ariſtenes then ſpoke again to this effect: "Chiefs "of the Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want "courage more than counſel; ſince not one among "you dares to ſpeak his ſentiments, with regard to "the common intereſt. Was I a private man, I "poſſibly might act as you do; but being the chief "magiſtrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, "either that the ambaſſadors ſhould not have been "allowed to aſſemble us, or that they ſhould not be "diſmiſſed without ſome anſwer. Now, how will "it be poſſible for me to make any, unleſs you au-"thoriſed me by a decree? But, ſince not one among "you will, or dares ſpeak his thoughts, let us ſup-"poſe for a moment, that the ſpeeches of the am-"baſſadors which we heard yeſterday, are ſo many "counſels they give, not for their own intereſt, but "purely for ours; and let us weigh them maturely. "The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, deſire "our friendſhip and alliance; and they requeſt us to "aſſiſt them in their war againſt Philip. On the "other ſide, the latter puts us in mind of the treaty "which we concluded with him, and ſealed and "ratified by an oath: One moment he requires us to "join with him, and the next he inſiſts upon our "obſerving a ſtrict neutrality. Is no one among you "ſurpriſed to hear thoſe, who are not yet our allies, "demand more than he who has long been a confe-"derate? Doubtleſs, it is not either modeſty in Phi-"lip, nor temerity in the Romans, which prompts "them to act and ſpeak as they do. This difference "in their ſentiments ariſes from the diſparity of their "ſtrength and ſituation. My meaning is; we ſee "nothing here belonging to Philip but his ambaſſa-

" dor; whereas the Roman fleet now lies at anchor " near Cenchreæ, laden with the ſpoils of Eubœa; " and the conſul and his legions, who are but at a " little diſtance from the fleet, lay waſte Phocis and " Locris with impunity. You are ſurpriſed that " Cleomedon, Philip's ambaſſador, ſhould have ad- " viſed you, in ſo fearful and reſerved a manner, to " take up arms in favour of the king againſt the Ro- " mans. If, in conſequence of the treaty in queſtion, " and of the oath on which he lays ſuch ſtreſs, we " ſhould require Philip to defend us againſt Nabis, " the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans; he would " not have any anſwer to make, much leſs would he " be able to give us any real ſuccour. This we expe- " rienced laſt year, when notwithſtanding the expreſs " words of our alliance, and the mighty promiſes he " made us, he ſuffered Nabis and the Lacedæmonians " to ravage our lands without oppoſition. In my " opinion, Cleomedon ſeemed evidently to contradict " himſelf in every part of his ſpeech. He ſpoke " with contempt of the war againſt the Romans, pre- " tending it would have the ſame ſucceſs, as that " which they had already made with Philip. Why " then does he implore our ſuccour at a diſtance, and " by an ambaſſador; inſtead of coming and defend- " ing us in perſon (we who are his ancient allies) " againſt Nabis and the Romans? Why did he ſuffer " Eretria and Cariſte to be taken? Why has he " abandoned ſo many cities of Theſſaly. and every " part of Phocis and Locris? Why does he ſuffer " Elatia to be beſieged at this inſtant? Was it a ſu- " perior ſtrength, was it fear, or his own will, that " made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give " up to the enemy thoſe inſuperable barriers, to go " and conceal himſelf in the moſt remote part of his " kingdom? If he has voluntarily abandoned ſo many " allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to keep " them from providing for their own ſafety? But, if " he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive the " ſame weakneſs in us. If he has been forced to it

" do

" do you, O Cleomedon, believe, that it is poſſible
" for us, Achæans, to make head againſt the Roman
" arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged
" to ſubmit? No compariſon can be made between
" the paſt and the preſent war. The Romans, at
" that time, employed in affairs of greater impor-
" tance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now they
" have put an end to the Punick war, which they
" ſuſtained ſixteen years in the centre of Italy, they
" do not ſend ſuccours to the Ætolians, but they
" themſelves, at the head of their armies, invade
" Philip both by ſea and land. Quintius, the third
" conſul whom they have ſent againſt him, having
" found him in a poſt which ſeemed inacceſſible, did
" nevertheleſs force him from it, plundered his camp,
" purſued him to Theſſaly, and took, almoſt in his
" ſight, the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes belonging to his allies.
" I will take it for granted, that whatever the Athe-
" nian ambaſſador has advanced concerning the cruel-
" ty, the avarice, and the exceſſes of Philip, is not
" true; that the crimes which he committed in At-
" tica do not any way affect us, any more than thoſe
" he perpetrated in many other places againſt the
" gods celeſtial, terreſtrial, and infernal; that we
" even ought to bury in everlaſting oblivion, the in-
" juries we have ſuffered for him. In a word, if we
" ſuppoſe that we are not treating with Philip, but
" with Antigonus, a mild and juſt prince, and from
" whom we all have received the greateſt ſervices;
" would he make a demand like that of to-day, ſo
" evidently oppoſite to our ſafety and preſervation?
" In caſe Nabis and his Lacedæmonians ſhould come
" and invade us by land, and the Roman fleet by ſea,
" will it be poſſible for the king to ſupport us againſt
" ſuch formidable enemies, or ſhall we be able to de-
" fend ourſelves? Paſt tranſactions point out to what
" we muſt expect hereafter. The medium which is
" propoſed, of our ſtanding neuter, will infallibly
" render us a prey to the conqueror, who will not fail
" to attack us as cunning politicians, who waited for

" the event, before we would declare ourſelves. Be-
" lieve what I ſay, when I aſſure you there is no me-
" dium. We muſt either have the Romans for our
" friends or for our enemies; and they are come to
" us with a ſtrong fleet, to offer us their friendſhip,
" and their aid. To refuſe ſo advantageous an offer,
" and ſlight ſo favourable an occaſion, which will never
" return, would be the higheſt folly, and ſhow that we
" run voluntarily on our own deſtruction."

This ſpeech was followed by a great noiſe and murmuring throughout the whole aſſembly, ſome applauding it with joy, and others oppoſing it with violence. The magiſtrates, called *Demiurgi*, were no leſs divided among themſelves. Of theſe, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon the affair in his aſſembly, and before his people; and the other five proteſted againſt it, upon pretence that the laws forbad both the magiſtrate to propoſe, and the aſſembly to paſs, any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely ſpent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws appointed the aſſembly to end. The debates grew ſo hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could ſcarce forbear ſtriking their ſons. Memnon of Pellene was one of the five magiſtrates who refuſed to make the report. His father, whoſe name was Rhiſiaſes, intreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own ſafety; and not expoſe them, by his obſtinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he ſwore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, conſidering him, not as his ſon, but the enemy of his country. Theſe terrible menaces, and paternal authority, made ſuch an impreſſion on Memnon, that he at laſt acquieſced.

The next day, the majority in the aſſembly deſiring to have the affair debated, and the people diſcovering plainly enough what it was they wanted, the Dymeans, Megalopolitans, and ſome of the Argives, withdrew from

from the aſſembly before the decree paſſed: And no one took offence at this, becauſe they had particular obligations to Philip, who alſo had lately done them very conſiderable ſervices. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other ſtates, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and ſuſpended the entire concluſion of that with the Romans, till ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambaſſadors were ſent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the conſul's brother, had already beſieged, having before taken Cenchreæ. They at firſt carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would ſoon ariſe between the garriſon and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all ſides, and various aſſaults were made, which the beſieged ſuſtained with great vigour, and always repulſed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deſerters, who, in caſe the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in deſpair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a freſh re-inforcement into the city, and the Romans deſpairing to force it; at laſt Lucius acquieſced with the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the ſiege was raiſed. The Achæans being ſent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board the fleets. The former ſailed to the Piræeus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilſt the fleets beſieged Corinth, T. Quintius the conſul was employed in the ſiege of Elatea, where he was more ſucceſsful: For, after the beſieged had made a ſtout and vigorous reſiſtance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the ſame time, ſuch of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up

their city to Philocles, one of his generals. Thus, notwithſtanding the alliance which the Achæans had juſt before concluded with the Romans, Philip ſtill poſſeſſed two of the ſtrongeſt cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECT. III. FLAMININUS *is continued in the command as proconſul. He has a fruitleſs interview with* PHILIP *about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and* NABIS, *tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sickneſs and death of* ATTALUS. FLAMININUS *defeats* PHILIP *in a battle near Scotuſſa and Cynoſcephale in Theſſaly. A peace concluded with* PHILIP, *which puts an end to the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Iſthmian games, when advice is brought, that they are reſtored to their ancient liberty by the Romans.*

A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197.

(*a*) NEW conſuls were appointed at Rome, but as the ſlow progreſs which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, were juſtly aſcribed to the frequent changing of thoſe who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were ſent him.

(*b*) The ſeaſon being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter-quarters in Phocis and Locris, when Philip ſent a herald to him, to deſire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, becauſe he did not know what had been reſolved upon at Rome with regard to himſelf; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war, in caſe he ſhould be continued in the command, or diſpoſe matters ſo as to bring about a peace, if a ſucceſſor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by ſeveral Macedonian noblemen, and Cycliadus, one of the chief of the Achæans, whom that people had baniſhed a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynander, king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After ſome diſputes with

(*a*) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27, & 28. (*b*) Ibid. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his propoſals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip anſwered them, and as he began to inveigh againſt the Ætolians, Phineas, their magiſtrate, interrupted him in theſe words: "We are not met here "merely about words; our buſineſs is, either to con- "quer ſword in hand, or to ſubmit to the moſt pow- "erful."——"A blind man may ſee that," replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas, whoſe ſight was bad. Philip * was very fond of jeſts, and could not refrain from them, even in treating on the moſt ſerious affairs; a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This firſt interview being ſpent in conteſts, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purpoſely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time ſufficient for anſwering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his propoſals, not one approved them; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip deſired that the deciſion might be ſuſpended till the next day; promiſing that he himſelf would comply in caſe it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earneſtly intreated Quintius and the allies not to oppoſe a peace; promiſing, either to agree to it on the conditions which he himſelf ſhould preſcribe, or accept of ſuch as the ſenate might require. They could not refuſe ſo reaſonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed, but on condition, that his troops ſhould immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the ſeveral parties ſent ambaſſadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, thoſe of the allies were heard firſt. They inveighed heavily againſt Philip upon ſeveral accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the ſituation of the places, that in caſe he ſhould continue poſſeſſed of Demetrias in Theſſaly,

* Erat dicacior natura quàm regem decet, & ne inter ſeria quidem riſu ſatis temperans. *Liv.*

Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia (cities which he himſelf juſtly, though inſolently, calls the ſhackles of Greece) it would be impoſſible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambaſſadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a ſubject that would have ſpun to a great length, they were interrupted, and aſked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in queſtion? Having anſwered, that no orders or inſtructions had been given them on that head, they were ſent back, without being gratified in a ſingle demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the ſenate would not be diſſatisfied at the latter; and he himſelf was much better pleaſed to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and ſent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any propoſals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

(*c*) Philip was now firmly reſolved to make the neceſſary preparations for war. As it would be difficult for him to preſerve the cities of Achæa, through their great diſtance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a truſt, which he was to ſurrender back to him, in caſe he ſhould be victorious in this war; but, if things ſhould fall out otherwiſe, he then was to poſſeſs it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houſes and poſſeſſions of ſuch of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and thoſe who ſtaid behind were robbed of all their gold and ſilver, and taxed in very heavy ſums. Thoſe who gave their money readily and chearfully, were not moleſted; but ſuch as were either ſuſpected to conceal their riches, or diſcovered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like ſo many ſlaves, and treated with the utmoſt indignity,

(*c*) Liv. l. iii. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

indignity. Nabis, having ſummoned the aſſembly, the firſt decree he enacted was for aboliſhing of debts; and the ſecond, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out, to win the affections of the common people, and exaſperate them againſt the rich.

The tyrant ſoon forgot from whom, and on what condition he held the city. He ſent ambaſſadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was maſter of Argos; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to ſuch conditions of a treaty as he was deſirous of concluding with them. His propoſal was accepted: In conſequence of which the proconſul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a ſtep which ſeemed very unbecoming both. In this meeting the Romans inſiſted that Nabis ſhould furniſh them with troops, and diſcontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the firſt article, but would conſent only to a four month's truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on thoſe conditions. This alliance with ſuch a tyrant as Nabis, ſo infamous for his injuſtice and cruelty, reflects diſhonour on the Romans; but in war, ſoldiers think themſelves allowed to take all advantages, at the expence even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a ſtrong garriſon into Argos, had plundered all the men, and diſpoſſeſſed them of all their riches: A little after he ſent his wife thither, to uſe the ladies in the ſame manner. Accordingly, ſhe ſent for the women of the greateſt diſtinction, either ſeparately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, ſhe extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but alſo their richeſt clothes, their moſt valuable moveables, and all their precious ſtones and jewels.

(*d*) When the ſpring was come, (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter) Quintius and Attalus reſolved, if poſſible, to ſecure the alliance of

(*d*) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 1, 2.

of the Bœotians, which till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with ſome ambaſſadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common aſſembly met. They were ſecretly favoured and ſupported by Antiphalus the chief magiſtrate. The Bœotians thought at firſt that they had come without forces and unguarded; but were greatly ſurpriſed when they ſaw Quintius followed by a conſiderable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the aſſembly. It was ſummoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and ſurpriſe; and indeed it would have been of no uſe, and even dangerous to have diſcovered them.

Attalus ſpoke firſt, and expatiated on the ſervices which his anceſtors and himſelf had done all Greece, and the republick of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and ſpeaking with greater vehemence than ſuited his age, he fell down in the midſt of his ſpeech, and ſeemed half dead; ſo that they were forced to carry him out of the aſſembly, which interrupted their deliberations for ſome time. Ariſthenes, captain-general of the Achæans, ſpoke next; and after him Quintius, who did not ſpeak much; and laid greater ſtreſs on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimouſly reſolved upon; no one daring to oppoſe, or ſpeak againſt it.

As Attalus's diſorder did not ſeem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea; highly ſatisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely ſecured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention, and efforts on the ſide of Macedonia.

(*e*) As ſoon as Attalus had recovered a little ſtrength, he was carried to Pergamus, where he died ſoon after, aged

(*e*) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 101, 102.

aged threeſcore and twelve years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius obſerves, that Attalus did not imitate moſt great men, to whom great riches are generally the occaſion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent uſe of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himſelf with the title of king. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful intereſt, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchaſing friends. He governed his ſubjects with the ſtricteſt juſtice, and always obſerved his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender huſband, an affectionate father; and perfectly diſcharged all the duties of a king and of a private man. He left four ſons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileteres, and Athenæus, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

(f) The armies on both ſides had ſet out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both ſides, and each conſiſted of about twenty-five or twenty-ſix thouſand men. Quintius advanced into Theſſaly, where he was informed the enemy were alſo arrived; but being unable to diſcover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his ſoldiers to cut ſtakes, in order to make uſe of them upon occaſion.

Here Polybius and Livy, who frequently copies him, ſhow the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans uſed the ſtakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the beſt ſtakes were thoſe round whoſe trunk a greater number of branches were ſpread, which made them ſo much the heavier; beſides, as the arms of the Grecian ſoldiers were ſo ponderous that they could ſcarce carry them, they conſequently could not eaſily carry ſtakes at the ſame time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at moſt

(f) Polyb. l. xvii. p. 754—762. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 3. 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 4.

moſt four branches to each ſtake they cut, and all of them on the ſame ſide. In this manner the ſoldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and eſpecially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his ſhoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

Further, the latter kind of ſtakes do much greater ſervice. Thoſe of the Greeks might very eaſily be pulled up. As this ſtake, whoſe trunk was large, was ſingle and detached from the reſt; and beſides, as the branches of it were ſtrong and many in number, two or three ſoldiers could eaſily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp; not to mention that all the ſtakes near it muſt neceſſarily have been looſened, becauſe their branches were too ſhort to interweave one with the other. But it was not ſo with the ſtakes cut by the Romans; their branches being ſo cloſely interwoven, that it was ſcarce poſſible to diſcover the ſtake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up thoſe ſtakes by thruſting his hand into the branches, which were ſo cloſely entwined, that no vacant place was left; beſides which, all the ends of them were ſharp-pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not eaſily be removed, for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it was driven ſo deep into the ground, that there was no moving it; and ſecondly, becauſe the branches were ſo cloſely interwoven, that it was impoſſible to pull up one, without forcing away ſeveral others at the ſame time. Though two or three men put their whole ſtrength to them, it yet was impoſſible for them to force the ſtakes away. And yet, whenever by ſhaking and moving them about, they at laſt were forced out of their places, ſtill the opening made in that manner was almoſt imperceptible. Thus theſe kind of ſtakes were preferable, on three accounts, to thoſe of the Greeks: They were to be had every where, could be carried with eaſe, and were a ſtrong paliſade to a camp.

Theſe ſort of digreſſions made by ſo great a maſter as Polybius, which turn on the uſages and practice of war,

war, commonly pleaſe perſons of the military profeſſion, to whom they may furniſh uſeful hints; and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the publick utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few ſkirmiſhes, in which the Ætolian cavalry ſignalized themſelves, and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotuſſa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was ſo cloudy and dark, that a man could ſcarce ſee two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanding them to ſeiſe upon the ſummit of the hills called Cynoſcephalæ, which ſeparated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius alſo detached ten ſquadrons of horſe, and about a thouſand light-armed troops, to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the ſame time directed them in the ſtrongeſt terms to beware of ambuſcades, as the weather was ſo very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had ſeiſed the eminences. At firſt, both parties were a little ſurpriſed at meeting, and afterwards began to ſkirmiſh. Each party ſent advice to the general of what was doing. The Romans, being not very able to oppoſe the enemy, diſpatched a courier to deſire a re-inforcement. Quintius immediately ſent Archedamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians; and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded a thouſand men, with five hundred horſe, which joining the former, ſoon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppreſſed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence ſent to the king for ſuccour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his ſoldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his firſt troops were in, and the ſky beginning to clear up, diſpatched Heraclides, who commanded the Theſſalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Anthenagoras, under whom were all the hired ſoldiers, thoſe

thoſe of Thrace excepted. When this re-inforcement joined the firſt detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the reſiſtance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with aſtoniſhing courage and intrepidity. Theſe were the beſt ſoldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for ſkirmiſhes and ſingle combats. Theſe ſo well ſuſtained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulſed into the valley. At ſome diſtance from the enemy, they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleaſed either with the place or the weather, but could not refuſe himſelf either to the repeated ſhouts or intreaties of his ſoldiers, who beſought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconſul did the ſame, and drew up his ſoldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each ſide, in this inſtant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the moſt affecting motives. Philip repreſented to his ſoldiers, the Perſians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Aſia and the whole Eaſt, ſubdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for ſovereignty, but for liberty, which, to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the univerſe. As to the procunſul, he put his ſoldiers in mind of the victories they had ſo lately gained: On one ſide, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, ſubdued by the Romans; and to ſay all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal, if not ſuperior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms: And which ought to

rouze

rouze their courage the more, Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired * by theſe ſpeeches, the ſoldiers, who, on one ſide, called themſelves victors of the Eaſt; and on the other, conquerors of the Weſt; the former, fired with the glorious achievements of their anceſtors; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had ſo lately gained; prepared on each ſide for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its poſt, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and marching with an haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing againſt the enemy in perſon. And now the ſkirmiſhers ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, haſtens towards the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the reſt of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleaſed at the ſight. However, not long after ſeeing them give way, and in exceeding want of ſupport, he was obliged to ſuſtain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greateſt part of his phalanx was ſtill upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives ſuch of his troops as had been repulſed; poſts them, whether horſe or foot, on his right wing; and commands the light-armed ſoldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to keep their ranks cloſe on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march toward them with their pikes preſented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had alſo, at the ſame time, received into his intervals thoſe who

* His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferenteſque in bellum, alii majorum ſuorum antiquam & obſoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. *Juſtin.*

who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedonians. The onſet being begun, each ſide ſent up the moſt dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had viſibly all the advantage; for charging impetuouſly from thoſe hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not ſuſtain the ſhock of troops ſo well cloſed and covered with their ſhields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but juſt arrived. As its ranks were broke and ſeparated by the hillocks and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorouſly the left wing of the Macedonians; perſuaded, that if he could but break it, and put it in diſorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event anſwered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenneſs and ruggedneſs of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle, in which its whole ſtrength conſiſts, it was entirely defeated.

On this occaſion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Obſerving that Philip, who was at a great diſtance from the reſt of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he leaves the right where he was (it not being in want of ſupport) and conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the armies, conſulting only his own reaſon, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the cloſeneſs of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themſelves, throw down their arms, and fly. What increaſed the ſlaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the ſame time.

Philip,

Philip, judging at firſt of the reſt of the battle, from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, aſſured himſelf of a complete victory. But when he ſaw his ſoldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind, he drew off with a body of troops to ſome diſtance from the field of battle, and from thence took a ſurvey of the whole engagement; but perceiving that the Romans, who purſued his left wing, extended almoſt to the ſummit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could aſſemble, and endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted, to wait for thoſe who had eſcaped the defeat. He had been ſo prudent as to ſend orders to Lariſſa to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of diſtreſſing any of his friends. The Romans purſued for ſome time thoſe who fled. The Ætolians were accuſed of having occaſioned Philip's eſcape. For they amuſed themſelves in plundering his camp, whilſt the Romans were employed in purſuing the enemy; ſo that when they returned, they found almoſt nothing in it. They reproached them at firſt on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each ſide loading the other with the groſſeſt inſults. On the morrow, after having got together the priſoners and the reſt of the ſpoils, they marched towards Lariſſa. The Romans loſt about ſeven hundred men in this battle, and the Macedonians thirteen thouſand, whereof eight thouſand died in the field, and five thouſand were taken priſoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoſcephale.

The Ætolians had certainly ſignalized themſelves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory: But then they were ſo vain, or rather inſolent, as to aſcribe the ſucceſs of it entirely to themſelves; declaring, without reſerve or modeſty, that they were far better ſoldiers than the Romans; and ſpread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was al-

ready offended at them, for their greedy impatience in ſeiſing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was ſtill more enraged at them for their inſolent reports in regard to their ſuperior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldneſs towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to publick affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occaſions.

Theſe reports ſeem to have made too ſtrong an impreſſion on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderneſs and caution in regard to allies ſo uſeful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a diſtance, for that open defection, to which the reſentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he diſſembled wiſely; had he ſhut his eyes and ears to many things; and appeared ſometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might ſay or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip ſent ambaſſadors to Flamininus who was at Lariſſa, upon pretence of deſiring a truce for burying the dead; but, in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconſul agreed to both requeſts; and was ſo polite as to bid the meſſenger tell the king, *That he deſired him not to deſpond.* The Ætolians were highly offended at this meſſage. As theſe people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of theirs from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes; and they were not aſhamed to ſpread ſuch reports among the allies.

The Roman general ſet out, with the confederates, for the entrance to Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He aſſembled them before the king arrived, to enquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amynandrus, king of Athamania, who ſpoke in the name of the reſt, ſaid, that ſuch a treaty ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to preſerve

ſerve peace and liberty, even in the abſence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian ſpoke next, and ſaid, That if the proconſul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he ſhould procure a ſolid peace for the Romans, or laſting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly miſtaken: That the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very eaſily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the preſent occaſion. After corroborating what he had advanced with ſeveral reaſons, he ſat down.

Quintius, addreſſing himſelf to Alexander; "You "do not know," ſays he, "either the character of the "Romans, my views, or the intereſt of Greece. "It is not uſual with the Romans, after they have "engaged in war with a king, or other power, to "ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal and the "Carthaginians are a manifeſt proof. As to myſelf, "I never intended to make an irreconcileable war "againſt Philip; but was inclined to grant him a "peace, whenever he ſhould yield to the conditions "that ſhould be preſcribed him. You yourſelves, "Ætolians, in the aſſemblies which were held for "that purpoſe, never once mentioned depriving Phi-"lip of his kingdom. Should victory inſpire us with "ſuch a deſign? How ſhameful were ſuch ſentiments? "When an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our "buſineſs to repel him with bravery and haughtineſs: "But when he is fallen, it is the duty of the victor "to ſhow moderation, gentleneſs, and humanity. "With regard to the Greeks, it is their intereſt, I "confeſs, that the kingdom of Macedonia ſhould be "leſs powerful than formerly; but it no leſs concerns "their welfare, that it ſhould not be entirely de-"ſtroyed. That kingdom ſerves them as a barrier "againſt the Thracians and Gauls *, who, were they "not checked by it, would certainly fall heavy upon "Greece, as they have frequently done before."

* *A great number of Gauls had ſettled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.*

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion, and that of the council, were, that if Philip would promiſe to obſerve faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly preſcribed, that then a peace ſhould be granted him, after having conſulted the ſenate about it; and that the Ætolians might form whatever reſolutions they pleaſed on this occaſion. Phineas, prætor of the Ætolians, having repreſented, in very ſtrong terms, that Philip, if he ſhould eſcape the preſent danger, would ſoon form new projects, and light up a freſh war: "I ſhall take care of that," replied the proconſul; "and ſhall take effectual me-"thods to put it out of his power to undertake any "thing againſt us."

The next day, Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after the council being met again, he came into it, and ſpoke with ſo much prudence and wiſdom, as ſoftened the whole aſſembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute whatever conditions the Romans and the allies ſhould preſcribe; and that with regard to every thing elſe, he would rely entirely on the diſcretion of the ſenate. Upon theſe words the whole council were ſilent. Only Phineas the Ætolian ſtarted ſome difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reaſon entirely diſregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the concluſion of the peace was, his having advice, that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Beſides, he was ſenſible, that ſhould another conſul come in his ſtead, all the honour of that war would be aſcribed to him. Theſe reaſons prevailed with him to grant the king a four months' truce; whereupon he received four * hundred talents from him, took Demetrius his ſon, and ſome of his friends, as hoſtages; and gave him permiſſion to ſend to

* *Four hundred thouſand French crowns.*

to Rome, to receive ſuch further conditions from the ſenate as they ſhould preſcribe. Matters being thus adjuſted, the parties ſeparated, after having mutually promiſed, that in caſe a peace ſhould not be concluded, Flamininus ſhould return Philip the talents and the hoſtages. This being done, the ſeveral parties concerned ſent deputations to Rome; ſome to ſollicit peace, and others to throw obſtacles in its way.

(f) Whilſt theſe meaſures were concerting, to bring about a general peace, ſome expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in ſeveral places. Androſthenes, who commanded under the king at Corinth, had a conſiderable body of troops, conſiſting of above ſix thouſand men: he was defeated in a battle by Nicoſtratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were diſperſed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their ſentiments; ſome being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid ſiege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoſcephale, the whole country ſubmitted to the conquerors. At the ſame time the Rhodians took Perea, a ſmall country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjuſtly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other ſide, repulſed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill ſtate of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Theſſalonica.

(g) At Rome, the time for the election of conſuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus were choſen. At the ſame time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were firſt read before the ſenate, and afterwards to the people; and publick prayers during five days were ordered, to thank the A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196.

(f) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14—19.
(g) Polyb. Excerp. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24. & 27—29.

gods for the protection they had granted the Romans, in the war againſt Philip.

Some days after, ambaſſadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia; the affair was debated in the ſenate. Each of the ambaſſadors made long ſpeeches, according to his reſpective views and intereſts; but, at laſt, the majority were for peace. The ſame affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who paſſionately deſired to command the armies in Greece, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpoſe; for the people approved of Flamininus's propoſal, and ratified the conditions. Afterwards the ſenate appointed ten of the moſt illuſtrious citizens to go into Greece, in order for them to ſettle, in conjunction with Flamininus, the affairs of that county, and ſecure its liberties. In the ſame aſſembly, the Achæans deſired to be received as allies of the people of Rome: but that affair meeting with ſome difficulties, it was referred to the ten commiſſioners.

A ſedition had broke out in Bœotia, between the partizans of Philip and thoſe of the Romans, which roſe to a great height. Nevertheleſs, it was not attended with any ill conſequences, the proconſul having ſoon appeaſed it.

(*b*) The ten commiſſioners, who had ſet out from Rome to ſettle the affairs of Greece, arrived ſoon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they ſettled in concert with Flamininus, were as follow: That all the other * cities of Greece, both in Aſia and Europe, ſhould be free, and be governed by their own laws: that Philip, before the celebration of the Iſthmian games, ſhould evacuate thoſe in which he then had garriſons: That he ſhould reſtore to the Romans all the priſoners and deſerters, and

(*b*) Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—376.

* *This word* other, *is put here in oppoſition to ſuch of the Grecian cities as were ſubject to Philip, part of which only were reſtored to their liberties, becauſe the Romans thought it neceſſary to garriſon Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.*

and deliver up to them all the ſhips that had decks, (five feluccas excepted) and the galley having ſixteen benches of rowers. That he ſhould pay * a thouſand talents; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hoſtages required of him, was Demetrius his ſon, who accordingly was ſent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great ſatisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquiſhed, might ſtill have an opportunity of finding the Romans conſiderable employment, Antiochus, ſeeing his power conſiderably increaſed by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the ſurname of Great, had actually reſolved to carry his arms into Europe. If, therefore, Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreſeen what would come to paſs, and had not ſpeedily concluded this peace; had the war againſt Antiochus been joined, in the midſt of Greece, with the war carrying on againſt Philip; and had the two greateſt and moſt powerful kings then in the world (uniting their views and intereſts) invaded Rome at the ſame time; it is certain, the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers, as thoſe they had been obliged to ſuſtain in the war againſt Hannibal.

As ſoon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with univerſal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country ſeemed diſſatisfied, and inveighed privately againſt it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words; that the Greeks were amuſed with the name of liberty; with which ſpecious term the Romans covered their intereſted views. That they indeed ſuffered the cities in Aſia to enjoy their freedom; but that they ſeemed to reſerve to themſelves thoſe of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, ſtrictly ſpeaking,

* *About* 190,000 l.

was not freed from its chains; and, at moſt, had only changed its ſovereign.

Theſe complaints made the proconſul ſo much the more uneaſy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commiſſioners, purſuant to the inſtructions they had received from Rome, adviſed Flamininus to reſtore all the Greeks to their liberty; but to keep poſſeſſion of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece; and to put ſtrong garriſons into them, to prevent their being ſeiſed by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth ſet at liberty; but it was reſolved there, that a ſtrong garriſon ſhould be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they ſhould be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Iſthmian games were to be ſolemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be tranſacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and perſons of the higheſt rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made publick, was the topick of all converſations, and various conſtructions were put on them; but very few could be perſuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being aſſembled in the ſtadium to ſee the games, a herald comes forward, and publiſhes with a loud voice; THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TITUS QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING OVERCOME PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, EASE AND DELIVER FROM ALL GARRISONS, AND TAXES, AND IMPOSTS, THE CORINTHIANS, THE LOCRIANS, THE PHOCIANS, THE EUBOEANS, THE PHTHIOT ACHÆANS, THE MAGNESIANS, THE THESSALIANS, AND THE PERRHÆBIANS; DECLARE THEM FREE, AND ORDAIN THAT THEY SHALL BE GOVERNED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE LAWS AND USAGES.

At theſe * words, which many heard but imperfectly, becauſe of the noiſe that interrupted them, all the ſpectators were filled with exceſs of joy. They gazed upon, and queſtioned one another with aſtoniſhment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; ſo like a dream was what they then ſaw and heard. It was thought neceſſary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now liſtened to with the moſt profound ſilence, ſo that not a ſingle word of the decree was loſt. But now fully aſſured of their happineſs, they abandoned themſelves again to the higheſt tranſports of joy, and broke into ſuch loud and repeated acclamations, that the ſea reſounded them to a great diſtance; and ſome ravens, which happened to fly that inſtant over the aſſembly, fell down in the ſtadium: So true it is, that of all the bleſſings of this life, none are ſo dear to mankind as liberty! The games and ſports were hurried over with neglect and diſregard; for ſo great was the general joy upon this occaſion, that it extinguiſhed all other thoughts and regards.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to ſee his deliverer, to ſalute him, to kiſs his hand, and to throw crowns and feſtoons of flowers over him; he would have run the hazard of being preſſed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years (for he was not above thirty-three years old) and the joy which ſo glorious a day gave him, ſuſtained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would aſk, whether any mortal ever ſaw a more happy or more glorious day than this was for

* Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod univerſum homines caperent. Vix ſatis credere ſe quiſque audiſſe: alii alios intueri mirabundi velut ſomnii vanam ſpeciem quod ad quemque pertineret, ſuarum aurium fidei minimùm credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præco—iterum pronunciare eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plauſus eſt ortus, totieſque repetitus, ut facilè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, eſſe. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum eſt, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi ſpectaculo intenti eſſent. Adeo unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium aliarum ſenſum voluptatum. *Liv.* l. xxxiii. n. 32.

for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in compariſon with what we have ſeen on this occaſion? Should we eſtimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conqueſts of Alexander and the greateſt captains, how little would they appear, when oppoſed to this ſingle action of goodneſs, humanity, and juſtice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not ſo ſenſible as they ought to be, to ſo refined a joy, to ſo affecting and exquiſite a glory, as that which ariſes from doing good to many.

The remembrance * of ſo delightful a day, and of the invaluable bleſſing then beſtowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time the only ſubject of converſation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the higheſt tranſports of admiration, and a kind of enthuſiaſm, "That there was a people in the "world, who at their own expence and the hazard "of their lives, engage in a war for the liberty of "other nations; and that not for their neighbours "or people ſituated on the ſame continent, but who "croſſed ſeas, and ſailed to diſtant climes, to deſtroy "and extirpate unjuſt power from the earth, and to "eſtabliſh univerſally, law, equity, and juſtice. That "by a ſingle word, and the voice of a herald, liberty "had been reſtored to all the cities of Greece and "Aſia. That a great ſoul only could have formed "ſuch a deſign; but that to execute it was the effect "at once of the higheſt good fortune, and the moſt "conſummate virtue."

(*k*) They call to mind all the great battles which Greece had fought for the ſake of liberty. "After "ſuſtaining ſo many wars," ſaid they, "never was its "valour

(*k*) Plut. in Flamin.

* Nec præſens omnium modò effuſa lætitia eſt; ſed per multos dies gratis & cogitationibus & ſermonibus revocata. Eſſe aliquam in terris gentem, quæ ſua impenſa, ſuo labore ac pericula, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præſtet: maria trajiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injuſtum imperium ſit, & ubique jus, fas, lex potentiſſima ſint. Una voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Aſiæ urbes. Hoc ſpe concipere, audacis animi fuiſſe: ad effectum adducere, virtutis & fortunæ ingentis. *Liv.* n. 33.

" valour crowned with ſo bleſſed a reward, as when " ſtrangers came and took up arms in its defence. It " was then, that almoſt without ſhedding a drop of " blood, or loſing ſcarce one man, it acquired the " greateſt and nobleſt of all prizes for which man- " kind can contend. Valour and prudence are rare " at all times; but of all virtues, juſtice is moſt rare. " Ageſilaus, Lyſander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had " great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining " battles both by ſea and land; but then it was for " themſelves and their country, not for ſtrangers and " foreigners, they fought. That height of glory was " reſerved for the Romans."

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the preſent ſtate of affairs; and the effects ſoon anſwered the glorious proclamation made at the Iſthmian games; for the commiſſioners ſeparated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus, being returned from Argos, was appointed preſident of the Nemean games. He diſcharged perfectly well all the duties of that employment, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the feſtival; and he alſo publiſhed by a herald at theſe games, as he had done at all the reſt, the liberty of Greece.

As he viſited the ſeveral cities, he eſtabliſhed good ordinances in them, reformed laws, reſtored amity and concord between the citizens, by appeaſing quarrels and ſeditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleaſed with being able by the means of perſuaſion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-eſtabliſh unity amongſt them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; ſo that liberty ſeemed the leaſt of the bleſſings they had received from him. And indeed, of what ſervice would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not juſtice and concord been reſtored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces? How happy are the people under magiſtrates of this character!

It

It is related that Xenocrates the philoſopher, having been delivered at Athens, by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to priſon, in order to make him pay a ſum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the publick treaſury, and meeting ſoon after the ſons of his deliverer, he ſaid to them, *I repay with uſury the kindneſs your father did me; for I am the cauſe that all mankind praiſe him.* But the gratitude which the Greeks ſhowed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in praiſing, but was alſo of infinite ſervice to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For they not only received ſuch generals as the Romans ſent them, but requeſted earneſtly that they might be ſent; they called them in, and put themſelves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer againſt the injuſtice of neighbouring powers, had recourſe to them, and put themſelves in a manner under their ſafeguard; ſo that, in a ſhort time, from an effect of the divine protection, (to uſe * Plutarch's expreſſion) the whole earth ſubmitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commiſſioners who had diſperſed themſelves up and down, came to the aſſembly of the Greeks which was held at † Thermæ, a city of Ætolia. He there made a long ſpeech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared; and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modeſty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not ſhow ſo much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harſh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been

* Θεῦ συνεφαπτομένου.

† *According to Livy, it was at Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether he has tranſlated juſtly Polybius in this place:* ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θερμικῶν σύνοδον. *This is ſaid of an aſſembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is in Ætolia.*

been able to ſet foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all diſputes and conteſts, which are always of pernicious conſequence, was ſo prudent as only to refer them to the ſenate, aſſuring them, that all poſſible juſtice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that reſolution; and thus ended the war againſt Philip.

SECT. IV. *Complaints being made, and ſuſpicions ariſing concerning* ANTIOCHUS, *the Romans ſend an embaſſy to him, which has no other effect, but to diſpoſe both parties for an open rupture. A conſpiracy is formed by* SCOPAS *the Ætolian againſt* PTOLEMY. *He and his accomplices are put to death.* HANNIBAL *retires to* ANTIOCHUS. *War of* FLAMININUS *againſt* NABIS, *whom he beſieges in Sparta; he obliges him to ſue for peace, and grants it him. He enters Rome in triumph.*

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwiſe would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the ſame time, Philip and Antiochus: For it is evident, that the Romans would ſoon be obliged to proclaim war againſt the king of Syria, who enlarged his conqueſts daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to croſs over into Europe.

(*l*) After having eſtabliſhed good order in Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral cities of Aſia Minor, and among thoſe of Epheſus, he took the moſt proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of his deſigns; and to give him the poſſeſſion of all thoſe kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his anceſtors. A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196.

Smyrna, Lampſacus, and the other Grecian cities of Aſia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, ſeeing plainly that he intended to bring them under ſubjection, reſolved to defend themſelves. But being unable

(*l*) Liv. l. xxx. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

unable to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was ſoon granted. The Romans ſaw plainly, that it was their intereſt to check the progreſs of Antiochus towards the Weſt; and how fatal the conſequence would be, ſhould they ſuffer him to extend his power by ſettling on the coaſt of Aſia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity thoſe free cities gave them, of oppoſing it; and immediately ſent an embaſſy to him.

Before the ambaſſadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already ſent off detachments from his army, which had formed the ſieges of Smyrna and Lampſacus. That prince had paſſed the Helleſpont in perſon with the reſt of it, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Thracian Cherſoneſus. Finding the city of * Lyſimachia all in ruins (the Thracians having demoliſhed it a few years before) he began to rebuild it, with the deſign of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his ſecond ſon; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capital of a new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all theſe new projects, the Roman ambaſſadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended with deputies from the Grecian cities in Aſia. In the firſt conferences, the whole paſſed in civilities, which appeared ſincere; but when they proceeded to buſineſs, the face of affairs was ſoon changed. L. Cornelius, who ſpoke on this occaſion, required Antiochus to reſtore to Ptolemy the ſeveral cities in Aſia, which he had taken from him; that he ſhould evacuate all thoſe which had been poſſeſſed by Philip; it not being juſt that he ſhould reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on againſt that prince; and that he ſhould not moleſt ſuch of the Grecian cities of Aſia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly ſurpriſed at Antiochus, for croſſing into Europe with two ſuch numerous armies, and

* *This city ſtood on the iſthmus or neck of the peninſula.*

and ſo powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lyſimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus anſwered, that Ptolemy ſhould have full ſatisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, ſhould be ſolemnized. That with regard to ſuch Grecian cities as deſired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive it. With reſpect to Lyſimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it, with the deſign of making it the reſidence of Seleucus his ſon; that Thrace, and the Cherſoneſus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lyſimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his anceſtors; and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Aſia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he deſired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Aſia than he did with thoſe of Italy.

The Romans deſiring that the ambaſſadors of Smyrna and Lampſacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. Theſe ſpoke with ſo much freedom, as incenſed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a paſſion, that the Romans had no buſineſs to judge of thoſe affairs. Upon this, the aſſembly broke up in great diſorder; none of the parties received ſatisfaction, and the whole ſeemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During theſe negociations, a report was ſpread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himſelf maſter of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take poſſeſſion of it. He left his ſon Seleucus at Lyſimachia with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to thoſe parts. He firſt went to Epheſus, where he cauſed all his ſhips in that port to join his fleet, in order to ſail as ſoon as poſſible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was ſpread concerning

Ptolemy's

Ptolemy's death was falſe. For this reaſon he changed his courſe, and made for the iſland of Cyprus, in order to ſeiſe it; but a ſtorm that aroſe ſunk many of his ſhips, deſtroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his meaſures. He thought himſelf very happy in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

(*m*) The foundation of the rumour which was ſpread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conſpiracy's having been really formed againſt his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general ſeeing himſelf at the head of all the foreign troops, the greateſt part of which were Ætolians, (his countrymen) imagined that with ſo formidable a body of well-diſciplined veteran forces, it would be eaſy for him to uſurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let ſlip the opportunity, by conſulting and debating with his friends, inſtead of acting, he would certainly have ſucceeded. Ariſtomenes, the prime miniſter, being appriſed of the conſpiracy, laid Scopas under an arreſt; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government conſide no longer in the Ætolians, who till then, had been in great eſteem for their fidelity; moſt of them were removed from their employments, and ſent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immenſe treaſures were found in his coffers, which he had amaſſed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the courſe of his victories in Paleſtine, had ſubjected Judæa and Jeruſalem to the Egyptian empire, the greateſt part of his treaſures aroſe, no doubt, from thence. The tranſition from avarice to perfidy and treaſon is often very ſhort; and the fidelity of that general, who diſcovers a paſſion for riches, cannot be ſafely relied on.

One

(*m*) Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771—773.

One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very ſtrange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the Iſlands called Cyclades, in open violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties; before he came out of the harbour, he ſet up two altars, one to injuſtice, and the other to impiety; and offered ſacrifices on both, to inſult, as one would imagine, at the ſame time both gods and men. As this wretch had ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his crimes, Ariſtomenes diſtinguiſhed him alſo from the reſt of the conſpirators in his execution. He diſpatched all the others by poiſon, but as for Dicæarchus, he cauſed him to die in exquiſite torments.

The contrivers of the conſpiracy being put to death, and all their meaſures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age; though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was ſet upon the throne with great pomp and ſolemnity. He thereby took the government upon himſelf, and accordingly began to tranſact buſineſs. As long as Ariſtomenes adminiſtered under him, all things went well: But when he conceived diſguſt for that faithful and able miniſter, and not long after put him to death (to rid himſelf of a man whoſe virtue was offenſive to him) the remainder of his reign was one continued ſeries of diſorder and confuſion. His ſubjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was moſt triumphant.

(*n*) When the ten commiſſioners, who were ſent to ſettle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told the ſenate, that they muſt expect and prepare for a new war, which would be ſtill more dangerous than that they had juſt before terminated: That Antiochus had croſſed into Europe with a ſtrong army, and a conſiderable fleet; that upon a falſe report which had been ſpread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had ſet out, in order to poſſeſs him- A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195.

(*n*) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 44—49. Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 2.

himſelf of Egypt, and that otherwiſe he would have made Greece the ſeat of the war: That the Ætolians, a people naturally reſtleſs and turbulent, and diſguſted with Rome, would certainly riſe on that occaſion: That Greece foſtered in its own boſom a tyrant (Nabis) more avaricious and cruel than any of his predeceſſors, who was meditating how to enſlave it; and therefore, having been reſtored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its ſovereign, and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, eſpecially if Nabis ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus's ſteps. He had juſt before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the ſpring, in order to go to Epheſus; and had ſcarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmoleſted in Carthage, during ſix years, from the concluſion of the peace with the Romans: but he was now ſuſpected of holding a ſecret correſpondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the deſign of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies ſent advice of this ſecretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embaſſy to Carthage, for more particular information in the fact; with orders, in caſe the proofs ſhould be manifeſt, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general * had too much penetration and foreſight, and had been too long accuſtomed to prepare for ſtorms, even in the greateſt calms, not to ſuſpect their deſign; ſo that before they had an opportunity to execute their commiſſion, he withdrew privately, got to the coaſt, and went on board a ſhip which always lay ready by his order againſt ſuch an occaſion. He eſcaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where

* Sed res Annibalem non diu minùs in ſecundis adverſa, quàm latuit, virum ad proſpicienda ca- in adverſis, ſecunda cogitantem. vendaque pericula peritum; nec *Juſtin.*

where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Epheſus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in ſuſpence whether he ſhould engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great ſatisfaction. He did not doubt, but with the counſel and aſſiſtance of a man who had ſo often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby juſtly acquired the reputation of being the greateſt general of the age, he ſhould be able to complete all his deſigns. He now thought of nothing but victories and conqueſts: Accordingly, war was reſolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the neceſſary preparations. Nevertheleſs, during that time, embaſſies were ſent on both ſides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but, in reality, to gain time, and ſee what the enemy were doing.

(o) With regard to Greece, all the ſtates, except the Ætolians, whoſe ſecret diſcontent I obſerved before, enjoyed the ſweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no leſs the temperance, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the ſtate of things, when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war againſt Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the Confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cauſe of their meeting. "You per-
"ceive," ſays he, "that the ſubject of the preſent
"deliberation ſolely regards you. Our buſineſs is to
"determine, whether Argos, an ancient and moſt
"illuſtrious city, ſituated in the midſt of Greece,
"ſhall enjoy its liberty in common with the reſt of
"the cities; or, whether it ſhall continue ſubject to
"the tyrant of Sparta, who has ſeiſed it. This af-
"fair concerns the Romans only, as the ſlavery of a
"ſingle city would bereave them of the glory of
"having entirely delivered Greece. Conſider there-

(o) Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 22—43.

" fore what is to be done, and your reſolutions ſhall " determine my conduct."

The aſſembly were not divided in their opinion, except the Ætolians, who could not forbear ſhowing their reſentment againſt the Romans, which they carried ſo high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping poſſeſſion of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boaſted their having entirely reſtored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no leſs againſt the reſt of the allies, who deſired to be ſecured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who (according to them) were Greeks only in name, but its real enemies in their hearts. The diſpute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the ſubject before them; upon which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that war ſhould be declared againſt Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to reſtore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promiſed to ſend a ſpeedy ſuccour; which was faithfully performed. Ariſthenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe.

Philip ſent fifteen hundred men, as his quota, and the Theſſalians four hundred horſe. Quintius's brother arrived alſo with a fleet of forty gallies, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Ageſipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta juſtly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus, the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies deſigned at firſt to beſiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more adviſeable to march directly againſt the tyrant. He had greatly ſtrengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had ſent for a thouſand choſen ſoldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other thouſand he had already among his forces. He had three thouſand other foreign troops in his ſervice; and,

and, beſides theſe, ten thouſand natives of the country, excluſively of the Helots.

At the ſame time he alſo concerted meaſures to ſecure himſelf from domeſtick troubles. Having cauſed the people to come unarmed to the aſſembly, and poſting armed ſoldiers round them; after ſome little preamble, he declared, that as the preſent juncture of affairs obliged him to take ſome precautions for his own ſafety, he therefore was determined to impriſon a certain number of citizens, whom he had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect; and that the inſtant the enemy ſhould be repulſed (whom, he ſaid, he had no reaſon to fear, provided things were quiet at home) he would releaſe thoſe priſoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a ſtrong priſon, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He alſo put to death in the villages a great number of the Helots, who were ſuſpected of a deſign to deſert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity ſpread univerſal terrour, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly reſolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle againſt troops much ſuperior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almoſt under the walls of the city, whilſt he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops againſt him. As the Romans did not expect ſuch a ſally, becauſe they had not been oppoſed at all upon their march, they were at firſt put into ſome diſorder; but ſoon recovering themſelves, they repulſed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other ſide of the city; when the rear-guard had paſſed, Nabis cauſed his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans inſtantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both ſides; but at laſt, the foreigners were broke and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, purſued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius

encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence ruined the vallies, at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the ſea.

At the ſame time, the proconſul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid ſiege to Gythium, at that time a ſtrong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very ſeaſonably; for the beſieged defended themſelves with great courage: However, after making a long and vigorous reſiſtance, they ſurrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore ſent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Beſides ſeveral other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great ſtreſs, he inſiſted ſtrongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himſelf had concluded with him in the war againſt Philip: an alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans profeſſed themſelves faithful and religious obſervers of treaties, which they boaſted their having never violated. That nothing had been changed on his part, ſince the treaty: That he was then what he had always been; and had never given the Romans any new occaſion for complaints or reproaches. Theſe arguments were very juſt; and, to ſay the truth, Quintius had no ſolid reaſons to oppoſe to them. Accordingly, in his anſwer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny: but, was he leſs covetous, cruel, and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this firſt interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, ſince the Romans required it; as alſo, to give them up their priſoners and deſerters. He deſired Quintius, in caſe he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends; to which Quintius conſented. The Roman general alſo held a council with his

his allies. Moſt of them were of opinion, that they ſhould continue the war againſt Nabis, which could only terminate glorioufly, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at leaſt his tyranny; for that otherwiſe, nobody could be aſſured that the liberty of Greece was reſtored. That if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a ſolemn manner, and giving a ſanction to his uſurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, becauſe he was afraid that the Spartans would ſuſtain a long ſiege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a ſudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces againſt him. Theſe were his pretended motives for deſiring an accommodation; but the true reaſon was, his being apprehenſive that a new conſul would be appointed to ſucceed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war; a motive which commonly influenced the reſolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the publick.

Finding that none of his reaſons could make the leaſt impreſſion on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us be-
"ſiege Sparta," ſays he, "ſince you think it proper,
"and exert ourſelves to the utmoſt for the ſucceſs of
"our enterpriſe. As you are ſenſible that ſieges often
"ſpin out to a greater length than is generally de-
"ſired, let us reſolve to take up our winter-quarters
"here, ſince it muſt be ſo: This is a reſolution worthy
"of your courage. I have a ſufficient number of
"troops for carrying on this ſiege; but the more nu-
"merous they are, the greater ſupply of proviſions
"and convoys will be neceſſary. The winter that is
"coming on, exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined
"country, from which we can have no forage. You
"ſee the great extent of this city, and conſequently
"the great number of catapultæ, battering-rams,
"and other machines of all kinds that will be want-
"ing. Write each of you to your cities, in order

" that they may furniſh you ſpeedily, in an abundant " manner, with all things neceſſary for us. We are " obliged in honour to carry on this ſiege vigorouſly; " and it would be ſhameful for us, after having be- " gun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterpriſe." Every one then making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreſeen; and was fully ſenſible, that the propoſal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in conſequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purſes, to the expence of the war. Changing therefore immediately their reſolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he ſhould think proper, for the good of his republick, and the intereſts of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed, in concert with them, on the conditions of peace to be offered the tyrant. The chief were: That, within ten days, Nabis ſhould evacuate Argos, and all the reſt of the cities of Argolis, garriſoned by his troops: That he ſhould reſtore to the maritime cities all the gallies he had taken from them; and that he himſelf ſhould keep only two feluccas, with ſixteen oars each: That he ſhould ſurrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their priſoners, deſerters, and ſlaves: That he ſhould alſo reſtore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, ſuch of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do ſo: That he ſhould give five hoſtages, to be choſen by the Roman general, of which his ſon ſhould be one: That he ſhould pay down an * hundred talents of ſilver, and afterwards fifty talents, annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for ſix months, that all parties might have time to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not ſatisfied with any of theſe articles; but he was ſurpriſed, and thought himſelf

* *An hundred thouſand crowns.*

ſelf happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raiſed a general ſedition, from the neceſſity to which he reduced private perſons, of reſtoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no further mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now reſolved to carry on the ſiege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the ſituation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; diſdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only ſince the tyrants governed it; and that but in places which lay open, and were eaſy of acceſs: All the other parts were defended only by their natural ſituation, and by bodies of troops poſted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous (conſiſting of above fifty thouſand men, becauſe he had ſent for all the land, as well as naval forces) he reſolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all ſides, in order to ſtrike the inhabitants with terrour, and render them incapable of knowing on which ſide to turn themſelves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all ſides at the ſame inſtant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in ſending ſuccours, which quite diſtracted him.

The Lacedæmonians ſuſtained the attacks of the beſiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, becauſe, preſſing on one another, they could not ſtand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to diſcharge them with ſtrength. The Romans, drawing near the city, found themſelves on a ſudden overwhelmed with ſtones and tiles, thrown at them from the houſe-tops. However, laying their ſhields over their heads, they came forward in the form

form of the *teſtudo* or tortoiſe, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: The Romans advanced into the broader ſtreets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to ſuſtain their efforts, nor make head againſt them, fled to the moſt craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his eſcape. But one of his chief commanders ſaved the city, by ſetting fire to ſuch edifices as were near the wall. The houſes were ſoon in flames; the fire ſpread on all ſides; and the ſmoke alone was capable of ſtopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a diſtance from it; and thoſe who were got into the city, fearing that the ſpreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then cauſed a retreat to be ſounded; and after having almoſt taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terrour with which he had filled the inhabitants, ſometimes by making new attacks, and at other times, by ſtopping up different places with works; in order that the beſieged might have no opportunity to eſcape, but be loſt to all hopes. Nabis, ſeeing things deſperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refuſed at firſt to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himſelf at his feet, after many intreaties, at laſt obtained a truce upon the ſame conditions as had been preſcribed before. Accordingly the money was paid, and the hoſtages delivered to Quintius.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated advices they had, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken, reſtored themſelves to liberty, by driving out their garriſon. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother (who returned to their reſpective

tive fleets) repaired to Argos, whoſe inhabitants he found in incredible tranſports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the uſual time, becauſe of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and diſtributed the prizes in it, or rather, he himſelf was the ſhow. The Argives eſpecially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious ſlavery, and reſtored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleaſed to ſee the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and reſtored to all their privileges: but Sparta being ſtill enſlaved, and a tyrant ſuffered in the midſt of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it leſs perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that ſhameful and inglorious treaty (for ſo they called it) they exclaimed in all places againſt the Romans. They obſerved, that in the war againſt Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece. That here, on the contrary, the uſurper was maintained in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Sparta; whilſt that the lawful king (meaning Ageſipolis) who had ſerved under the proconſul, and ſo many illuſtrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to paſs the remainder of their days in baniſhment. In a word, that the Romans had made themſelves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in theſe complaints, confined their views ſolely to the advantages of liberty: but in great affairs, men ſhould have an eye to all things, ſhould content themſelves with what they can execute with ſucceſs, and not attempt a thouſand ſchemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himſelf will ſhow hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had ſet out to carry on the war with Sparta. He ſpent the whole winter in adminiſtering juſtice to the

the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and eſtabliſhing order in all places; things which, properly ſpeaking, are the real fruits of peace, the moſt glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on juſt and reaſonable motives. The ambaſſadors of Nabis being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 194. In the beginning of the ſpring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general aſſembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he repreſented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the intreaties of the Greeks when they implored their ſuccour; and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither ſide would have occaſion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterpriſes of the Roman generals his predeceſſors; and mentioned his own with a modeſty of expreſſion that heightened their merit. He was heard with univerſal applauſe, except when he began to ſpeak of Nabis; on which occaſion, the aſſembly, by a modeſt murmur, diſcovered their grief and ſurpriſe, that the deliverer of Greece ſhould have left, in ſo renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only inſupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the reſt of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the diſpoſition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in few words. He confeſſed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire deſtruction of Sparta. But, as there was reaſon to fear, that this conſiderable city would be involved in the ſame ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was, than perhaps to run the hazard, ſhould they employ too violent remedies, of deſtroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He

He added to what he had ſaid of paſt tranſactions, that he was preparing to ſet out for Italy, and to ſend the whole army thither. That before ten days ſhould be at an end, they ſhould hear that the garriſons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would ſurrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth. That this would ſhow, whether the Romans or Ætolians were moſt worthy of belief: whether the latter had the leaſt foundation for the report they ſpread univerſally, that nothing could be of more dangerous conſequence to a people, than to truſt the Romans with their liberties; and that they only ſhifted the yoke, in accepting that republick for their maſter inſtead of the Macedonians. He concluded with ſaying, that it was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and diſcreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they truſted, and againſt whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to uſe their liberty with moderation; that with this wiſe precaution, it was of the higheſt advantage to particular perſons as well as to cities; but that without moderation, it became a burthen to others, and even pernicious to thoſe who abuſed it. That the chief men in cities, the different orders that compoſe them, and the citizens themſelves in general, ſhould endeavour to preſerve a perfect harmony: That ſo long as they ſhould be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to diſtreſs them; that diſcord and ſedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, becauſe the party which finds itſelf weakeſt within, ſeeks for ſupport without; and chooſes rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than ſubmit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his ſpeech with conjuring them, in the mildeſt and moſt gentle terms, to preſerve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans ſenſible, that in reſtoring them to their freedom,

freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to perſons unworthy of it.

This counſel was received as from a father to his children. Whilſt he ſpoke in this manner, the whole aſſembly wept for joy, and Quintius himſelf could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expreſſed the ſentiments of all who were preſent. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and reſpect, the words of the Roman general, as ſo many oracles, and preſerve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius cauſing ſilence to be made, deſired that they would enquire ſtrictly after ſuch Roman citizens as were in ſlavery in Greece, and ſend them to him in Theſſaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave thoſe in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the higheſt applauſes, and thanked Quintius in particular, for hinting to them ſo juſt and indiſpenſable a duty. The number of the ſlaves was very conſiderable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punick war; but the Romans refuſing to redeem them, they had been ſold. It coſt only the Achæans an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thouſand crowns, to re-imburſe the maſters the price they had paid for the ſlaves, at the rate of about * twelve pounds ten ſhillings an head; conſequently the number here amounted to twelve hundred. The reader may form a judgement, in proportion, of all the reſt of Greece. Before the aſſembly broke up, the garriſon was ſeen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it ſoon after, and withdrew in the midſt of the acclamations of the people, who called him their ſaviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to beſtow all poſſible bleſſings upon him.

He withdrew in the ſame manner the garriſons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in thoſe cities

* *Five hundred denarii.*

cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Theſſaly, where he found all things in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion.

At laſt he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony laſted three days, during which he exhibited to the people (amidſt the other pomp) the precious ſpoils he had taken in the wars againſt Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, ſon of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hoſtages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the nobleſt ornament of it was, the Roman citizens delivered from ſlavery, who followed the victor's car, with their heads ſhaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been reſtored.

SECT. V. *Univerſal preparations for the war between* ANTIOCHUS *and the Romans. Mutual embaſſies and interviews on both ſides, which come to nothing. The Romans ſend troops againſt* NABIS, *who had infringed the treaty.* PHILOPOEMEN *gains another victory over him. The Ætolians implore the aſſiſtance of* ANTIOCHUS. NABIS *is killed.* ANTIOCHUS *goes at laſt to Greece.*

(a) ANTIOCHUS and the Romans were preparing for war. Ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Aſia Minor, and from ſeveral kings. They were favourably received by the ſenate; but as the affair of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commiſſioners who were returned from Aſia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both ſides. The ambaſſadors of the king were ſurpriſed, as their ſovereign had ſent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendſhip with the Romans, that the latter ſhould pretend to preſcribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate thoſe cities which he might keep, and ſuch as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many ſpeeches and A. M. 3779. Ant. J. C. 225.

(a) Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 57—62.

and replies, declared to the king's ambaſſadors, that the Romans perſiſted in the reſolution they had taken to deliver the Grecian cities of Aſia, as they had done thoſe of Europe; and ſhould ſee whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They anſwered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to leſſen the dominions of their ſovereign. On the morrow, all the reſt of the ambaſſadors were again introduced into the ſenate. Quintius reported what had been ſpoken and tranſacted in the conference; and intreated each of them in particular, to inform their reſpective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties againſt Antiochus, with the ſame ardour and courage as they had done againſt Philip. Antiochus's ambaſſadors conjured the ſenate, not to form any raſh reſolution in an affair of ſo much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and conſider things maturely on their ſide, before they paſſed a decree, in which the publick tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a deciſion, and deputed to the king Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius; the ſame ambaſſadors who had already conferred with him at Lyſimachia.

Scarce were they gone, but ambaſſadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the ſenate, that Antiochus, at the inſtigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to carry on the war againſt the Romans. I have obſerved before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was arrived at his court at the very inſtant the king was deliberating whether he ſhould embark in this war. The preſence and counſels of ſuch a general, contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time (and he always perſiſted in it) was that he ought to carry his arms into Italy. That by this means the enemy's country would furniſh them with troops and proviſions; that otherwiſe, no prince nor people could be ſuperior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but an hundred gallies, ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. He declared,

declared, that with this fleet he would firſt go into Africa, where he was perſuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, ſhould he not ſucceed in the latter, he would ſail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to diſtreſs the Romans; that it was neceſſary that the king ſhould go over into Europe with the reſt of his forces, and halt in ſome part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he ſhould always ſeem upon the point of doing it.

The king approving this project at firſt, Hannibal ſent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to ſound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, leſt they ſhould be intercepted; not to mention that buſineſs is tranſacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was diſcovered, and eſcaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian ſenate ſent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the ſame time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

(*b*) No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incenſing them; repreſenting, in the moſt aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their laſt victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonſtrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was ſent ambaſſador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, Thoas's brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular inſtructions in regard to each of thoſe princes. A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 192.

The firſt repreſented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by diſpoſſeſſing him of his maritime towns, as they furniſhed him with gallies, ſoldiers, and ſailors: That, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to ſee the Achæans reign over Peloponneſus: that he would never have ſo favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then preſented itſelf: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might eaſily ſeiſe upon Gythium,

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 12.

which was ſituated very commodiouſly for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to ſend their legions again into Greece, to take a city of ſo little conſequence.

Nicander employed ſtill ſtronger motives to rouſe Philip, who had been thrown down from a much ſuperior height of greatneſs, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Beſides which, he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been ſubdued by their arms: that the propoſal he made him would not expoſe him to any danger: that he did not deſire him to declare war, till Antiochus ſhould have paſſed into Greece with his army; and that if he (Philip) unaſſiſted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, ſuſtained ſo long a war againſt the Romans and the Ætolians united, how would it be poſſible for the Romans to reſiſt him, when he ſhould have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the ſworn enemy to the Romans, of whoſe generals more had been defeated by him, than were living at that time.

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He obſerved particularly, that in the war againſt Philip, the Romans had taken the ſpoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians: That they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horſe and foot with which they would furniſh him; and the ſtrong towns and ſea-ports poſſeſſed by them. He did not ſcruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him againſt the Romans.

Theſe are the ſteps the Ætolians took, to raiſe up enemies againſt Rome on every ſide. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time; and did not take their reſolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he ſent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to a rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and diſpatched thoſe who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately ſent deputies to the tyrant to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace he had ſollicited ſo much. At the ſame time they ſent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already beſieged; and ambaſſadors to Rome, to inform the ſenate and people of what was doing.

(c) Antiochus did not yet declare himſelf openly, but took ſecret meaſures for promoting the great deſign he meditated. He thought it adviſeable to ſtrengthen himſelf by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Paleſtine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and reſigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, but upon condition as had been before ſtipulated; that he ſhould retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have beſtowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refuſed her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with ſo great a monarch would be a great ſupport to their houſe. However, Eumenes ſoon convinced them, by the reaſons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He repreſented, that ſhould he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a neceſſity of eſpouſing his intereſt againſt the Romans, with whom he plainly ſaw this

(c) Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. xxxv. n. 13—20. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88—92. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

monarch would ſoon be at variance; that, ſhould th Romans get the better (as it was highly probable they would) he ſhould be involved in the ſame ruin with the vanquiſhed king, which would infallibly prove his deſtruction: that, on the other ſide, ſhould Antiochus have the advantage in the war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his ſon-in-law, he ſhould be one of the firſt to become his ſlave. For they might be aſſured, that ſhould Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would ſubject all Aſia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: that they ſhould have much better terms from the Romans; and therefore he was reſolved to continue attached to their intereſts. The event ſhowed that Eumenes was not miſtaken.

After theſe marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Aſia Minor, and arrived at Epheſus in the depth of winter. He ſet out from thence again in the beginning of the ſpring to puniſh the Piſidians, who were inclined to revolt; after having ſent his ſon into Syria, for the ſecurity of the provinces in the Eaſt.

I have ſaid above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embaſſy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go firſt to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he deſired nothing ſo much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having ſo powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very juſt alarm. In caſe of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the ſame fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined; or, ſhould the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes aſſured himſelf that part of his ſpoils and fortreſſes would be given him, which would enable him to defend himſelf, without any foreign aid, againſt his attacks: that, after all, ſhould things take a different turn, he had rather run the worſt hazard, in concert with the Romans,

than

than be expoſed, by breaking with them, to ſubmit either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left ſick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Piſidia, went to Epheſus, where he found Hannibal. He had ſeveral conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to perſuade him, that he had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from the Romans. He had better ſucceſs in the deſign he propoſed in that conduct, which was by treating Hannibal with great courteſy, and making him frequent viſits, to render him ſuſpected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Livy, on the authority of ſome hiſtorians, relates that Scipio was on this embaſſy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated anſwer I have related * elſewhere, when, ſpeaking of the moſt illuſtrious generals, he gave the firſt place to Alexander, the ſecond to Pyrrhus, and the third to himſelf. Some authors look upon this embaſſy of Scipio as improbable, and the anſwer of Hannibal to be more ſo.

Villius went from Epheſus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war againſt the Piſidians. In their interview, they ſpoke on much the ſame topicks, as thoſe on which the king's ambaſſadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus his eldeſt ſon. He returned to Epheſus to lament his loſs. But notwithſtanding theſe fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his ſhow of grief was merely political; and that he himſelf had ſacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greateſt hopes, and had already given ſuch ſhining proofs of wiſdom, goodneſs, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had ſent him from Epheſus into Syria, under the pre-

* *Vol. I. Hiſtory of the Carthaginians.*

text of having an eye to the ſecurity of the provinces of the Eaſt; and that he had cauſed ſome eunuchs to poiſon him there, to rid himſelf of his fears. A king and at the ſame time a father, ought not to be ſuſpected of ſo horrid a crime, without the ſtrongeſt and moſt evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and ſorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king ſent for them ſoon after. They had a conference with his miniſter, which ended in complaints on both ſides; after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The inſtant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the preſent affairs; in which every one exclaimed againſt the Romans, knowing that to be the beſt method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtineſs of their demands, and ſaid it was ſtrange, that they ſhould attempt to preſcribe laws to the greateſt monarch of Aſia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great aſcendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they ſhould make war, but how, and in what manner they ſhould carry it on; aſſured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in caſe he ſhould croſs into Europe, and ſettle in ſome part of Greece: that the Ætolians, who were in the centre of it, would be the firſt to declare againſt the Romans; that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on one ſide, to recover what he had loſt, would raiſe all Peloponneſus againſt them; and that, on the other, Philip, who was ſtill more diſguſted, would not fail, at the firſt ſignal of war, to take up arms alſo: that they had no time to loſe; and, that the deciſive point was, to ſeiſe upon the moſt advantageous poſts, and to make ſure of allies. He added that Hannibal ought to be ſent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

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Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered ſuſpected to the king, was not ſummoned to this council. He had perceived on ſeveral other occaſions, that the king's friendſhip for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer repoſed the ſame confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unboſomed himſelf without the leaſt diſguiſe. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had ſworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans. "It is this oath," ſays he, "it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep "the ſword drawn during thirty-ſix years; it was "the ſame animoſity that occaſioned my being ba"niſhed from my country in a time of peace, and "forced me to ſeek an aſylum in your dominions. "If you defeat my hopes, guided by the ſame hatred, "which can never expire, but with my life, I will "fly to every part of the world where there are ſol"diers and arms, to raiſe up enemies againſt the "Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. "As long as you ſhall reſolve to make war againſt "them, you may conſider Hannibal as the firſt of "your friends: But if there are any motives which "incline you to peace, take counſel of others, not "of me." Antiochus, ſtruck with theſe words, ſeemed to reſtore him his confidence and friendſhip.

The ambaſſadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it againſt him. They did not act ſo cautiouſly with regard to Nabis, who had been the firſt to violate the treaty, and was then actually beſieging Gythium, and laying waſte the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was ſent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

(*d*) Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with reſpect to land ſervice, but had no ſkill in naval affairs. Notwithſtanding this, he took upon himſelf the command A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C 191.

(*d*) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

of the Achæan fleet *, and imagined that he ſhould be as ſucceſsful by ſea as he had been by land: but he learned, to his coſt, not to depend ſo much upon his own judgement, and found how greatly uſeful experience is on all occaſions; for Nabis, who had fitted out ſome veſſels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. This diſaſter however did not diſcourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumſpect for the future. Such is the uſe judicious men ought to make of their errours, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greateſt ſucceſſes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen reſolved, if poſſible, to make his joy of ſhort duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having ſurpriſed him when he leaſt expected him, he ſet fire to his camp, and made a great ſlaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium ſurrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtineſs of the tyrant.

Philopœmen ſaw plainly that it was neceſſary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up his army, in making choice of the poſts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errours of an enemy. On this occaſion, fired by jealouſy, and animated with revenge againſt Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the firſt attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greateſt ſtrength, broke the Achæans, threw them into diſorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuſcades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them; and, whilſt they were ſhouting as victorious, thoſe who fled faced about;

* *The great prince of Conde thought and ſpoke much more wiſely. In a converſation upon a ſea fight, the prince ſaid, he ſhould be very glad to ſee one, purely for his own inſtruction. A ſea-officer, who was preſent, replied,* Sir, were your highneſs in a ſea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of obeying your orders. My orders! *interrupted the prince*; I ſhould not preſume even to give my advice; but ſhould ſtand quietly on the deck, and obſerve all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own inſtruction.

about; and the Achæans charged them on a ſudden from their ambuſcades, and made a great ſlaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in, from the rivulets and moraſſes with which it abounded the general would not ſuffer his troops to abandon themſelves to their ardour, in purſuing the enemy; but cauſing a retreat to be ſounded, he encamped on that very ſpot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully perſuaded, that as ſoon as it ſhould be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in ſmall parties, he poſted ambuſcades in all the paſſes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; ſo that Nabis hardly ſaved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen, having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and, after having conſiderably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with ſpoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, becauſe it was manifeſtly owing ſolely to his prudence and ability. A circumſtance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him; and which young officers ſhould propoſe to themſelves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult paſs, he halted, and aſked himſelf (in caſe he were alone) or elſe enquired of thoſe who were with him, in what manner it would be neceſſary to act, in caſe the enemy ſhould come ſuddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in leſs order, as when an army is on its march; what poſt would it be proper for him to take? In what places to diſpoſe his baggage, and how many troops would be neceſſary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could beſt ſecure his forage, and provide water? What rout he ſhould take the next day, after he ſhould decamp, and in what order it were beſt to march? He

He had accuſtomed himſelf ſo early, and exerciſed himſelf ſo much in all theſe parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and never was diſconcerted by any unforeſeen accident, but reſolved and acted immediately as if he had foreſeen every thing that happened. Theſe things form the great captain: But the only method to be ſuch, is to love one's profeſſion, to think it an honour to improve it, to ſtudy it ſeriouſly, and to deſpiſe the common topicks of diſcourſe of the indolent and inſignificant part of an army, who have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

(*e*) During this expedition of the Achæans againſt Nabis, the Ætolians had ſent ambaſſadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to croſs into Greece. They not only promiſed to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him; but alſo aſſured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on ſeveral other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare againſt them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the firſt of the ambaſſadors, expatiated upon all theſe advantages in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pompous terms. He obſerved to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceleſs condition: that this would be the fineſt opportunity for him to poſſeſs himſelf of it; that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the inſtant he came among them, he would be maſter of the country. This ſoothing deſcription of the ſtate of the Grecian affairs, made ſo deep an impreſſion on him, that he could ſcarce give himſelf time to deliberate in what manner it would be moſt proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other ſide, who were not ignorant of the meaſures taken by the Ætolians to diſengage their allies from their intereſt, and increaſe their enemies on all ſides, had ſent ambaſſadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all

(*e*) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 31—34.

all the nations very well diſpoſed with regard to the Romans, except the Magneſians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was ſpread of their intending to reſtore to Philip his ſon, who had been given them as an hoſtage; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magneſians. It was neceſſary to undeceive them, but in ſo dexterous a manner as not to diſguſt Philip, whom it was much more their intereſt to oblige. This Quintius effected with great addreſs. The author of theſe falſe reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magiſtrate. As he let drop ſome harſh and injurious expreſſions againſt the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magneſians with their ingratitude; Zeno, one of the oldeſt among them, directing himſelf to Quintius and the reſt of the ambaſſadors, with tears conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who (he ſaid) ought only to be anſwerable for it. That the Magneſians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever elſe is moſt dear and valuable among men; that as for themſelves, they would ſooner part with their lives, than renounce the friendſhip of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole aſſembly applauded this ſpeech, and Eurylochus, perceiving plainly that there was no longer any ſafety for him in the city, took refuge amongſt the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus's court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had ſent as his ambaſſador to the Ætolians. Before the general aſſembly was convened, theſe two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepoſſeſs the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by ſea and land; his numerous bodies of horſe and foot; the elephants he had cauſed to be brought from India; and above all (which was the ſtrongeſt motive with regard to the populace) the immenſe

menſe treaſures which the king would bring with him, ſufficient to buy even the Romans themſelves.

Quintius had regular notice ſent him of whatever was ſaid or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon all things as loſt on that ſide, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himſelf with, and to lay the wrong ſtill more on the ſide of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their aſſemblies ſome ambaſſadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus's ambaſſador might advance. He gave this commiſſion to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the aſſembly, by acquainting it that an ambaſſador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with ſaying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as Aſiaticks, had Antiochus concerned himſelf ſooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then, every people would have preſerved their rights, and all had not been ſubjected to the Roman power. "But ſtill," ſays he, "if you execute the deſigns you have formed, "Antiochus may, by the aſſiſtance of the gods and "your aid, reſtore the affairs of Greece to their an-"cient ſplendour, how deſperate ſoever their condition "may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themſelves (without ſaying a word of the king) with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the ſervice Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any raſh reſolution in an affair of ſo much importance as that in queſtion: That bold reſolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleaſing proſpect at firſt, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely ſucceſsful: That the Roman ambaſſadors, among whom was Quintius, were

not

not far off: that as things were ſtill undecided, it would ſhow more wiſdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their ſeveral claims and pretenſions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Aſia in a war, of which the conſequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even againſt admitting the Romans into the aſſembly; ſo that the oldeſt and wiſeſt among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not ſo much from any hopes he entertained, of being able to make the leaſt impreſſion on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the ſole cauſe of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it againſt their wills, and merely through neceſſity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans: He made a tranſient mention of the many things by which they had infringed it; and after ſaying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only obſerved, that if they imagined themſelves aggrieved, it would appear much more reaſonable to make their remonſtrances to the ſenate, who were always ready to hear their complaints: than out of mere wantonneſs to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus which would diſturb the peace of the univerſe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of thoſe who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his repreſentations, which however were diſregarded at that time. Thoas, and thoſe of his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in preſence of the Romans, that a decree ſhould be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius deſiring a copy of this decree,

cree, Damocritus (then in office) was ſo inconſiderate as to anſwer in the moſt inſolent tone, that he had buſineſs of much greater conſequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himſelf would ſoon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tyber: ſo violent and furious a ſpirit had ſeiſed all the Ætolians, and even their principal magiſtrates. Quintius and the reſt of the ambaſſadors returned to Corinth.

(f) The Ætolian privy-council formed, in one day, three very aſtoniſhing reſolutions, to ſeiſe by a treacherous ſtratagem Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of theſe expeditions.

Diocles ſet out for Demetrias, where, being aſſiſted by Eurilochus's faction, who was in exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himſelf maſter of the city.

But Thoas was not ſo ſucceſsful in Chalcis, which he imagined he ſhould be able to ſeiſe by the help of an exile: for the magiſtrates, who were ſtrongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating againſt their city, put it in a good poſture of defence, and enabled it to ſuſtain a vigorous ſiege. Thus Thoas, failing in his deſign, returned back in the utmoſt confuſion.

The enterpriſe againſt Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No acceſs could be had to it, but under the maſk of friendſhip. Nabis had long ſollicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march a thouſand foot thither. To theſe were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were ſtrictly enjoined by the magiſtrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature ſoever they may be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both uſed to march out their troops every day and exerciſe them in the plains on the ſide of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers

(f) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 34—39.

troopers, he attacks Nabis, whom he had purpoſely drawn into a ſolitary place, and throws him from his horſe. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to loſe no time returns to the city to ſeiſe on Nabis's palace. Had he convened the aſſembly that inſtant, and made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion, his buſineſs would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians: but he ſpent the remainder of the day, and the whole night in ſearching after the tyrant's treaſures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, made a great ſlaughter of the Ætolians diſperſed in queſt of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and ſolely intent upon ſecuring his rich ſpoils. Such was the reſult of the enterpiſe againſt Sparta.

(g) Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no ſooner heard of Nabis's death, but he marched a conſiderable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmoſt diſorder. He aſſembled the principal citizens, made a ſpeech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed ſo far between arguments and compulſion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This ſucceſs greatly increaſed the reputation of Philopœmen with thoſe ſtates, his having brought over to the league a city of ſo great power and authority as Sparta, being juſtly eſteemed a ſervice of no ſmall importance. By this means he alſo gained the friendſhip and confidence of the worthieſt men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reaſon, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been ſold, they reſolved, by a publick decree, to make him a preſent of the monies ariſing from that ſale, amounting to an hundred and twenty * talents; and ſent him a deputation to deſire his acceptance of them.

On

(g) Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

* *An hundred and twenty thouſand crowns.*

On this occaſion, ſays Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great perſonage was of the pureſt and moſt perfect kind; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really ſuch: not one of the Spartans would undertake the commiſſion of offering him that preſent. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excuſed themſelves; and therefore it was at laſt reſolved to ſend Timolaus, who had formerly been his gueſt.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the houſe of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindeſt reception. Here he had an opportunity of conſidering the ſeverity of his whole conduct, the greatneſs of his ſentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was ſo aſtoniſhed at all he ſaw, that he did not dare ſo much as to mention to Philopœmen the preſent he was come to offer him ſo that, giving ſome other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was ſent again, but was not more ſucceſsful than before. At laſt, going a third time, he ventured (but with great pain to himſelf) to acquaint Philopœmen with the good-will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the inſtant he had done ſpeaking, he went to Sparta; where, after expreſſing the higheſt gratitude to the Spartans, he adviſed them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting ſuch of their friends as were men of probity, becauſe they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wiſdom without expence to them; but to keep their gold to purchaſe and corrupt the wicked, and thoſe who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their ſeditious diſcourſes; in order that being paid for their ſilence, they might not occaſion ſo many diſtractions in the government. "For it is much more adviſeable," added he, "to "ſtop an enemy's mouth, than that of a friend." Such was the diſintereſtedneſs of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare theſe great and noble ſentiments with

with the baſeneſs of thoſe groveling wretches, whoſe whole ſtudy is to heap up riches.

(*b*) Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promiſes he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the preſent ſtate of Greece, and eſpecially by the reſolutions which had been taken in the general aſſembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to ſet out immediately for that country. He went with ſuch precipitation, that he did not give himſelf time to concert the neceſſary meaſures for ſo important a war, nor carry with him a ſufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampſacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the Eaſt, brought only ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. Theſe troops would hardly have ſufficed, had he been to poſſeſs himſelf only of a naked and defenceleſs country, without having ſo formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppoſe.

He arrived firſt at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been ſent by the Ætolians and their ambaſſador, he went to Lamia, where their aſſembly was held. He was received there with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; inſinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their intereſt, ſince, at the firſt ſignal they gave him, he was come, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations ſhould ſoon be anſwered: That as ſoon as the ſeaſon for navigation ſhould arrive, they ſhould ſee all Greece filled with arms, men, and horſes, and all the ſea-coaſts covered with gallies: That he would ſpare neither expence, application, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the firſt rank in it: That with his numerous

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 43—45.

armies, there would ariſe from Aſia munitions of every kind: that all he deſired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be neceſſary for their preſent ſubſiſtence. Having ended his ſpeech he withdrew.

The moſt judicious in the aſſembly ſaw plainly that Antiochus, inſtead of a real and preſent ſuccour, as he had promiſed, gave them little more than hopes and promiſes. They could have wiſhed that they had only choſen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, cauſed Antiochus to be nominated generaliſſimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he ſhould think proper to deliberate with them.

SECT. VI. ANTIOCHUS *endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his intereſt, but in vain. He poſſeſſes himſelf of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war againſt him, and ſend* MANIUS ACILIUS *the conſul into Greece.* ANTIOCHUS *makes an ill uſe of* HANNIBAL*'s counſel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians ſubmit to the Romans.*

A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191.

(*a*) THE firſt ſubject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was, with what enterpriſe to begin firſt. It was thought adviſeable to make a ſecond attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops ſet out for that city without loſs of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with ſuch citizens of Chalcis, as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the ſtrongeſt terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the ſeat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done: That nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, becauſe that

(*a*) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 46—51. Appian in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

that the one would always defend them againſt the other; and that by this means they would hold both in reſpect: that they would do well to conſider, in caſe they ſhould not agree to the propoſal now made them, the great danger to which they would expoſe themſelves; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great diſtance; whereas the king was preſent, and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not gueſs what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whoſe ſake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece: That he knew of no city garriſoned by Roman ſoldiers, nor that paid the leaſt tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppreſſed by them. That as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occaſion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the ſweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans: That they did not refuſe the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians; but that, if they would ſhow themſelves friends, the firſt thing they were deſired to do was, to leave their iſland: That they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

This anſwer was reported to the king; as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he reſolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a firſt ſtep did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They had recourſe elſewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Antiochus and thoſe of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their aſſembly was held, in preſence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambaſſador ſpoke firſt. He * was a

* Is, ut plerique quos opes regiæ alunt, vaniloquus, maria terraſque inani ſonitu verborum compleverat. *Liv.*

vain man (as thoſe generally are who live in the courts, and at the expence of princes;) and fancying himſelf a great orator, he ſpoke with an abſolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vaſt body of cavalry was paſſing the Helleſpont into Europe, conſiſting, partly of cuiraſſiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horſeback, turned about, and diſcharged their arrows with the ſureſt aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone ſuperior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry; the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be ſo large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be compoſed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphilia; nations, who were allowed univerſally to be the beſt and moſt experienced mariners in the world: that it would be to no purpoſe to enumerate the immenſe ſums which Antiochus was bringing with him; every one knowing, that the kingdoms of Aſia had always abounded in gold: That they were to judge, in proportion, of the reſt of the military preparations: that in conſequence the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was ſovereign of all Aſia and part of Europe: that nevertheleſs, though he was come from the moſt remote parts of the Eaſt, purely to reſtore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that ſhould interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their firſt friends and allies: that he did not deſire them to unite their arms with his againſt the people in queſtion, but only to ſtand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambaſſador, ſpoke to the ſame effect; adding, that the ſafeſt and wiſeſt courſe the Achæans could take, would be, to remain ſpectators

tors of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without ſharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches againſt the Romans in general, and againſt Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the ſafety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle, worthy a great captain? He declared, that he himſelf had obſerved him during the engagement wholly employed in conſulting the auſpices, in ſacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a prieſt, whilſt himſelf was expoſing his perſon and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preſervation.

To this Quintius anſwered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had ſtudied to pleaſe by this ſpeech; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition and character of the Ætolians, whoſe courage conſiſted ſolely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to gain their eſteem; but had ſtudied to ingratiate himſelf with the king's ambaſſadors, and, by their means, with the king himſelf: that if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the ſpeeches made by the ambaſſadors ſhowed it viſibly enough: that on both ſides, nothing but boaſting and falſehood had been employed. That vaunting of troops they had not, they ſeduced and blew up the vanity of each other by falſe promiſes and vain hopes; the Ætolians aſſerting boldly on one ſide (as you have juſt now heard) that they had defeated Philip, and preſerved the Romans; and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other ſide, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horſe and foot, and to cover the ſea with his fleets. "This," ſays he, "puts me in mind of an entertainment given "me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy

" man, who treats his gueſts in the beſt manner. " Surpriſed at the prodigious quantity and variety of " diſhes that were ſerved up, we aſked him how it " was poſſible for him, in the month of June, to get " together ſo great a quantity of game. My friend, " who was not vain-glorious like theſe people, only " fell a laughing, and owned ſincerely, that what we " took for veniſon, was nothing but ſwine's fleſh, " ſeaſoned ſeveral ways, and cooked up with different " ſauces. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the king's " troops which have been ſo highly extolled, and " whoſe number has been vainly multiplied in mighty " names. For theſe Dahæ, Medes, Caddusians, and " Elymæans, are all but one nation, and a nation of " ſlaves rather than ſoldiers. Why may not I, Achæ- " ans, repreſent to you all the motions and expedi- " tions of this great king, who one moment hurries to " the aſſembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for pro- " viſions and money; and the next goes in perſon to " the very gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged " to retire with ignominy. Antiochus has very inju- " diciouſly given credit to the Ætolians; and they, " with as little judgment, have believed Antiochus. " This ought to teach you, not to ſuffer yourſelves to " be impoſed upon, but to rely upon the faith of the " Romans, which you have ſo often experienced. I " am ſurpriſed they can venture to tell you, that it " will be ſafeſt for you to ſtand neuter, and to remain " only ſpectators of the war. That would, indeed, " be a ſure method; I mean, to become the prey of " the victor."

The Achæans were neither long, nor divided in their deliberations, and the reſult was, that they ſhould declare war againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately, at the requeſt of Quintius, they ſent five hundred men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater ſatisfaction from the Bœotians, who anſwered, that they would conſider on what

what was to be done, when that prince ſhould come into Bœotia.

In the mean time Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction againſt the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The reſt of the cities ſoon following their example, he made himſelf maſter of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquiſition, in having reduced ſo conſiderable an iſland in his firſt campaign. But can that be called a conqueſt, where there are no enemies to make oppoſition?

(*b*) But terrible ones were making preparations againſt that prince. The Romans, after conſulting the will of the gods by omens and auſpices, proclaimed war againſt Antiochus and his adherents. Proceſſions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to ſolemnize the great games for ten days, in caſe they ſhould be ſucceſsful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a reproach would ſo religious, though blind a paganiſm, reflect on Chriſtian generals, who ſhould be aſhamed of piety and religion! A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191.

At the ſame time they omitted no human means to their ſucceſs. The ſenators and inferior magiſtrates were forbidden to remove to any diſtance from Rome, from which they could not return the ſame day; and five ſenators were not allowed to be abſent from it at the ſame time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the conſul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brunduſium on the fifteenth of May; and ſet out from Rome himſelf ſome days before.

About the ſame time, ambaſſadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Maſiniſſa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ſhips. The ſenate ſaid, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except

(*b*) Liv. l. xvi. n. 1—15. Appian. in Syriac. p. 93—96.

the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having sollicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrias, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began, by insisting on the necessity there was to use the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus's interest; which, he said, was so important a step, that if he succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. "And indeed," says he, "as Philip sustained so long the whole weight "of the Roman power, what may not be expected "from a war, in which the two greatest kings of "Europe and Asia will unite their forces; especially, "as the Romans will have those against them in it, "who gave them the superiority before; I mean the "Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom only, as is "well known, they were indebted for victory? Now, "who can doubt but Philip may easily be brought "over from the Roman interest, if what Thoas so "often repeated to the king, in order to induce him to "cross into Greece, be true, that this prince, highly "incensed to see himself reduced to a shameful ser-"vitude under the name of peace, waited only an "opportunity to declare himself? And could he ever "hope one more favourable than that which now of-"fers itself?" If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and asserted, as he had always done, that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy; which had been his reason for always advising Antiochus to begin the war there. That since another course

courſe had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece; it was his opinion, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, that the king ought to ſend immediately for all his troops out of Aſia; and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who poſſibly might fail him on a ſudden. That the inſtant thoſe forces ſhould arrive, it was proper to march towards thoſe coaſts of Greece, oppoſite to Italy, and order his fleet to ſet ſail thither alſo. That he ſhould employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coaſts of Italy; and keep the other half in ſome neighbouring harbour, in order to ſeem upon the point of croſſing into Italy; and actually to do ſo, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. By this means, ſaid he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the neceſſity of defending their own coaſts; and, at the ſame time, it will be the beſt method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place (in his opinion) where the Romans could be conquered. "Theſe (concluded "Hannibal) are my thoughts; and if I am not ſo well "qualified for preſiding in another war, I ought at "leaſt to have learned, by my good and ill ſucceſſes, how "to act in the field againſt the Romans. My zeal and "fidelity may be depended upon. As to the reſt, I "beſeech the gods to proſper all your undertakings, "whatſoever they may be."

The council could not then but approve of what Hannibal had ſaid, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the preſent poſture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Aſia; he immediately ſending orders to Polyxenides, his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the reſt of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by aſſuring him, that he could not fail of being victorious. They obſerved further, that ſhould he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be aſcribed to Hannibal, becauſe he had formed it; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reaſon

reaſon it was neceſſary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the beſt counſels loſt, and the moſt powerful empires ruined.

The king, having joined the troops of the allies to his own, takes ſeveral cities of Theſſaly; he is however obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Lariſſa, Bebius the Roman prætor having ſent it a ſpeedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell diſtractedly in love with the man's daughter at whoſe houſe he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was ſo paſſionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he reſolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterpriſes he had formed, the war againſt the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he ſpent the reſt of the winter in feaſts and diverſions, on the occaſion of his nuptials. This taſte for pleaſure ſoon communicated itſelf from the king to the whole court, and occaſioned an univerſal neglect of military diſcipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought, that Acilius the conſul was advancing towards him in Theſſaly with the utmoſt diligence. Immediately the king ſet out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very ſmall number of the confederate troops, whoſe officers told him, that it was impoſſible for them, though they had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to bring more forces into the field; the king then found, but too late, how much he had been impoſed upon by the great promiſes of Thoas; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be ſafe for him to rely on the troops of ſuch allies. All he could do at that time was, to ſeiſe the paſs of Thermopylæ, and to ſend to the Ætolians for a re-inforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Aſiatick forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only thoſe troops he had brought the

the year before, which ſcarce exceeded ten thouſand men.

(c) Antiochus imagined he had provided ſufficiently for his ſecurity againſt the Romans, who were advancing againſt him, by having ſeiſed the paſs of Thermopylæ, and ſtrengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The conſul came forward, determined to attack him. Moſt of his officers and ſoldiers had been employed in the war againſt Philip. Theſe he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practiſed in military affairs than Antiochus; who being newly married, and enervated by pleaſures and voluptuouſneſs, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the ſame manner as nuptials are ſolemniſed. Acilius had diſpatched Cato his lieutenant, with a large detachment in queſt of ſome by-path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpreſſible fatigues, went over the mountains through the ſame path where Xerxes, and Brennus afterwards, opened themſelves a paſſage; when falling ſuddenly on ſome ſoldiers, whom he met there, he ſoon put them to flight. Immediately he orders the trumpets to ſound, and advances at the head of his detachment ſword in hand, and with great ſhouts. A body of ſix hundred Ætolians, who guarded ſome of the eminences, ſeeing him come down the mountains, take to their heels, and retire towards their army, where they ſpread univerſal terrour. At the ſame inſtant the conſul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth ſhattered by a ſtone, was in ſuch exceſſive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to ſtand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now univerſally routed in a place, where there was almoſt no outlets to eſcape through; for on one ſide they were

(c) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 16—21. Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96—98.

were ſtopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks; ſo that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The ſoldiers, however, crowding and puſhing forward, to avoid the enemy's ſwords, threw one another into the moraſſes and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them periſhed.

After the battle was over, the conſul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was ſtill hot and out of breath; and cried out aloud, in the tranſports of his joy, that neither himſelf nor the Romans could ever reward his ſervices as they deſerved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been conſul, and had commanded the armies in Spain: but he did not think that the accepting of a ſubaltern employment for the ſervice of his country, was any diſgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the purſuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, five hundred excepted, with whom he eſcaped to Chalcis.

Acilius ſent Cato to Rome, with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble, in a general, to do juſtice in this manner to virtue, and not to harbour any thing ſo mean as jealouſy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome, filled the citizens with a joy ſo much the greater, as they had very much doubted the ſucceſs of the war againſt ſo powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for publick prayers and ſacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thankſgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtleſs often admired, to ſee the heathens ſo very careful in beginning and ending all their wars with ſolemn acts of religion; endeavouring, in the firſt place, by vows and ſacrifices to acquire the favour of thoſe whom they honoured as gods; and afterwards returning them publick and ſolemn thanks for the ſucceſs of their arms. This was a double teſtimony

mony they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which (of the ſame antiquity with the world) has been preſerved by all nations; that there is a ſupreme being and a providence, which preſides over all human events. This laudable cuſtom is obſerved regularly among us; and it is only among Chriſtians, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, that it may be called a religious cuſtom. I only wiſh that one practice were added to it, which certainly correſponds with the intention of ſuperiors as well eccleſiaſtical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the ſame time for thoſe brave officers and ſoldiers, who have ſhed their blood in the defence of their country.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the ſurrender of all the cities and fortreſſes which that prince had taken, and eſpecially of Chalcis and of all Eubœa. The * conſul, after his victory, diſcovered ſuch a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itſelf.

(*d*) Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and inſolent conduct, had rendered themſelves unworthy of the leaſt regard, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He repreſented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus: that it was not too late for them to have recourſe to the clemency of the Romans: that to give an unexceptionable proof of the ſincerity of their repentance, they ſhould ſurrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. Theſe remonſtrances being all to no purpoſe, he ſaw plainly that he ſhould be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he beſieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very ſtrong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The conſul having employed the baliſtæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the ſame time. The beſieged defended themſelves with inexpreſſible courage, or rather fury. They immediately

(*d*) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 22—26.

* Multo modeſtia poſt victoriam, quàm ipſa victoria, laudabilior. *Liv.*

ately repaired ſuch parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent ſallies, they charged with a violence it was ſcarce poſſible to ſupport, for they fought in the higheſt deſpair. They burned in an inſtant the greateſt part of the machines employed againſt them. The attack was continued in this manner for four-and-twenty days, without the leaſt intermiſſion either day or night.

It was plain, that as the garriſon did not conſiſt of near ſo many forces as the Roman army, it muſt neceſſarily be greatly weakened by ſuch violent and uninterrupted aſſaults. And now the conſul formed a new plan. He diſcontined the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians, not doubting but this proceeded from the over-fatigue of the beſiegers, and perſuaded that they were as much exhauſted as themſelves, they took advantage of the repoſe allowed them, and retired at the ſame time with the Romans. They continued this practice for ſome time: But the conſul having drawn off his troops at midnight as uſual, at three that morning he aſſaulted the city in three places only; placing, at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move, till a ſignal ſhould be given. Such Ætolians as were aſleep, being very drowſy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmoſt difficulty; and thoſe who roſe from their ſlumbers, ran up and down at random wherever the noiſe called them. At day-break, the ſignal being given by the conſul, the aſſault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked; and from whence the beſieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an inſtant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmoſt precipitation into the citadel. The general ſuffered the city to be plundered, not ſo much from a ſpirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the ſoldiers. who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of proviſions, it could not hold out long; and accordingly, at the firſt aſſault,

aſſault, the garriſon ſurrendered. Among the priſoners was Damocritus, a perſon of the greateſt diſtinction among the Ætolians, who in the beginning of the war had anſwered Quintius, *That he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which he had juſt before called in Antiochus.*

At the ſame time Philip was beſieging * Lamia, which was but ſeven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambaſſadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promiſed them a ſpeedy ſuccour; gave them immediately a conſiderable ſum of money, and kept Thoas, who ſtaid very willingly with him, to haſten the execution of his promiſes.

(*e*) The Ætolians, who were exceedingly diſcouraged by the taking of Heraclea, conſidered how they might beſt put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have much worſe. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were preſcribed, the negociation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the conſul laid ſiege to Naupactus, in which the Ætolians had ſhut themſelves up with all their forces. The ſiege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in other matters, came thither and joined the conſul. The deſtruction of that city would involve almoſt the whole people in the ſame fate. The uſage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians, had given him the greateſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied with them. However, he was moved to compaſſion, when he ſaw them on the brink of deſtruction; and therefore he advanced ſo near the walls, as to be known by the beſieged. The city was reduced to the laſt extremities. A rumour being ſpread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens ran from all quarters to the walls.

(*e*) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 27, 35.

* *Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.*

walls. Thoſe unfortunate people ſtretching forth their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burſt into tears, and implored his aſſiſtance with the moſt mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to ſhedding of tears, expreſſed by his geſture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the conſul. In their converſation he repreſented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but loſt time to continue the ſiege of thoſe two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being aſhamed to raiſe the ſiege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleaſed. The latter advancing near the walls a ſecond time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens beſought him to take compaſſion of them. Quintius, by a ſign with his hand, bid them ſend deputies to him; when immediately Pheneas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themſelves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble poſture: "Your calamity," ſays he, "baniſhes from my mind all thoughts "of reſentment and revenge. You now find that all "things have happened as I foretold you they would; "and you have not the conſolation of being able to "ſay, that none of theſe misfortunes were owing to "yourſelves. But deſtined, as I am, by providence "to preſerve Greece, your ingratitude ſhall not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute therefore "ſome perſons to the conſul, and beg a truce for as "much time as may ſuffice for ſending ambaſſadors "to Rome, in order to make your ſubmiſſions to the "ſenate. I will be your mediator and advocate with "the conſul," They followed Quintius's advice in every thing. The conſul granted them a truce, broke up the ſiege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy ſucceſs of this campaign, and to offer preſents and ſacrifices to the gods in the Capitol. They were received there with the higheſt marks of diſtinction; and the Romans gave up

up to them Demetrius, the ſon of Philip, who had been an hoſtage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on againſt Antiochus in Greece.

SECT. VII. POLYXENIDES, *admiral of* ANTIOCHUS's *fleet, is defeated by* LIVIUS. L. SCIPIO, *the new conſul, is appointed to carry on the war againſt* ANTIOCHUS. SCIPIO AFRICANUS, *his brother, ſerves under him. The Rhodians defeat* HANNIBAL *in a ſea-fight. The conſul marches againſt* ANTIOCHUS, *and croſſes into Aſia. He gains a ſignal victory over him near Magneſia. The king obtains a peace; and gives up, by a treaty, all Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus. Diſpute betwen* EUMENES *and the Rhodians, in preſence of the Roman ſenate, relating to the Grecian cities of Aſia.*

(f) WHILST the affairs I have juſt related paſſed in Greece, Antiochus lived eaſy and undiſturbed in Epheſus; relying on the aſſurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reaſon to be under any apprehenſions from the Romans, who (they declared) did not intend to croſs into Aſia. Hannibal was the only perſon capable of rouſing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that inſtead of entertaining vain hopes, and ſuffering himſelf to be lulled aſleep by irrational and improbable diſcourſe, he might be aſſured, that he would ſoon be forced to fight the Romans both by ſea and land, in Aſia, and for Aſia; that he muſt reſolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it ſword in hand, againſt enemies who aſpired at no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole world. A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191.

The king then became ſenſible of the great danger he was in, and immediately ſent orders to haſten the march of the eaſtern troops which were not yet arrived. He alſo fitted out a fleet, embarked and ſailed to the Cherſoneſus. He there fortified Lyſimachia, Seſtus, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood,

(f) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41—45. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99. 100.

hood to prevent the Romans from croſſing into Aſia by the Helleſpont; and this being done, he returned to Epheſus.

Here it was reſolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in ſearch of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was juſt before arrived in the Ægean ſea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both ſides; but at laſt Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ſhips were ſunk, thirteen taken, and he eſcaped with the reſt to Epheſus. The Romans ſailed into the harbour of Canna, in Ætolia, drew their ſhips aſhore, and fortified, with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

(*g*) Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magneſia, aſſembling his land-forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coaſt, and reſolved to equip another ſo powerful, as might be able to preſerve the empire of thoſe ſeas. For this purpoſe, he refitted ſuch ſhips as had been brought off, re-inforced them with new ones, and ſent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch thoſe of Syria and Phœnicia. He alſo gave part of the army to Seleucus his ſon, whom he ſent into Ætolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in perſon with the reſt into winter-quarters in Phrygia.

(*h*) During theſe tranſactions, the Ætolian ambaſſadors arrived at Rome, where they preſſed to be admitted to audience, becauſe the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the ſenate very much exaſperated againſt the Ætolians. They were conſidered, not as common enemies, but as a people, ſo very untractable, that it would be to no

(*g*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 100.

(*h*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1.

no purpoſe to conclude an alliance with them. After ſeveral days debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refuſed peace, two propoſals were made to them, and left to their option: theſe were, either to ſubmit entirely to the will of the ſenate; or to pay a thouſand * talents, and to acknowledge all thoſe for their friends or enemies, whom the Romans ſhould conſider as ſuch. As the Ætolians deſired to know particularly how far they were to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate, no expreſs anſwer was made them. They therefore withdrew, without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

(*i*) The next year the Romans gave the command of the land-armies, which Acilius had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new conſul; under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to ſerve as lieutenant. The ſenate and people of Rome were very deſirous of trying, which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greateſt ſervice to the army in which he ſhould fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Rhegillus. A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190.

The conſul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in beſieging one town after another; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a ſix-month's truce, in order that they might have full time for ſending a ſecond embaſſy to Rome, he reſolved to march his army through Theſſaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to croſs over into Aſia. However, he thought it adviſeable previouſly to inform himſelf how Philip might ſtand affected. This prince gave the army ſuch a reception as might be expected from the moſt faithful and moſt zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furniſhed it all neceſſary refreſhments and ſupplies, with a truly royal munificence. In the

(*i*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1—7. Appian. in Syriac. p 99, & 100.

* *About* 190,000l.

entertainments * he made for the conſul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he diſcovered an eaſy, graceful air; and ſuch a politeneſs, as was very pleaſing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generoſity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praiſe which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is alſo very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his gueſts, the moſt illuſtrious perſonages in the world, a Roman conſul, and at the ſame time general of the armies of that republick; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that conſul's brother. Profuſion is ordinary, and in ſome meaſure pardonable on theſe occaſions; and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his gueſts. He regaled them in ſuch a manner as became a great prince; and with a magnificence that ſuited their dignity and his own, but at the ſame time was far from diſcovering the leaſt pomp or oſtentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging carriage of the maſter of the feaſt; and by the care he took to ſet before his gueſts with taſte and decorum whatever might be moſt agreeable to them. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas viſa.* Theſe perſonal qualities, in the ſenſe of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his gueſts a more advantageous idea of him, than the moſt ſumptuous profuſions could have done. This excellent taſte on both ſides, ſo uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for perſons of their high rank.

The conſul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had inveſted them with full powers for that purpoſe, the remainder of the ſum he was to pay them.

Philip

* Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas viſa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum, ſicut ad cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ ſine luxuria eſſet, non averſum. *Liv.*

Philip ſeemed to make it his duty, as well as pleaſure to accompany the Roman army; and to ſupply it with neceſſaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him, how much the Roman forces were ſuperior to his own; and his inability to ſhake off the yoke of obedience and ſubmiſſion, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended; and it was wiſe in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwiſe in ſome meaſure have been obliged to do. For in reality, it was ſcarce poſſible for him not to retain a very ſtrong reſentment againſt the Romans for the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accuſtom themſelves to depend on and ſubmit to others.

(*k*) In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace, to favour the paſſage of the conſul's troops into Aſia. Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, who was a Roman exile, by a ſtratagem, defeated Pauſiſtratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet, appointed to ſuccour the Romans. He attacked him by ſurpriſe in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or ſunk nine-and-twenty of his ſhips; and Pauſiſtratus himſelf loſt his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, ſo far from being diſcouraged by this great loſs, meditated only their revenge. Accordingly, with incredible diligence they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets ſailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was beſieging in his capital. This ſuccour arrived very ſeaſonably; Eumenes being juſt on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes the Achæan, who had formed himſelf under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. He had entered the city with a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe. At the head of his own troops only, and in ſight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he

(*k*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9—11. & n. 18—22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—103.

performed actions of ſuch extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raiſe the ſiege, and quit the country.

(*l*) The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in queſt of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians, ſingly, fought him on the coaſts of Pamphylia. By the goodneſs of their ſhips, and the dexterity of their ſeamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megiſte, near Patara; and there blocked him up ſo cloſe, as made it impoſſible for him to act for the ſervice of the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman conſul was advancing by haſty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to paſs the Helleſpont and enter Aſia. Antiochus then ſaw the imminent danger he was in, and made haſte to take all poſſible methods for preventing it.

(*m*) He ſent ambaſſadors to Pruſias king of Bithynia, to inform him of the deſign which the Romans had of entering Aſia. They were ordered to diſplay, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the fatal conſequences of that enterpriſe: that they were coming with a deſign to deſtroy all the kingdoms in the world, and ſubject them to the empire of the Romans: that after having ſubdued Philip and Nabis, they had reſolved to attack him: that ſhould he have the ill fortune to be overcome, the fire ſpreading, would ſoon reach Bithynia; that as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily ſubmitted himſelf, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

Theſe motives had made a great impreſſion on Pruſias, but the letters he received at the ſame time from Scipio the conſul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and ſuſpicions. The latter repre-

(*l*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. viii. (*m*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxii.

repreſented to him, that it was the conſtant practice of the Romans, to beſtow the greateſt honours on ſuch kings as ſought their alliance; and he mentioned ſeveral examples of that kind, in which he himſelf had been concerned. He ſaid, that in Spain, ſeveral princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconſiderable figure, were ſince become great kings: that Maſiniſſa had not only been reſtored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, whereby he was become one of the moſt powerful potentates of the univerſe. That Philip and Nabis, though vanquiſhed by Quintius, had nevertheleſs been ſuffered to ſit peaceably on their thrones: that, the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay, was remitted, and his ſon, who was an hoſtage in Rome, ſent back to him: that as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not loſt his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had ſent as their ambaſſador to Pruſias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally expect to be victorious; and how much ſafer it would be for him to rely on the friendſhip of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

This king being diſappointed of the hopes he had entertained, of bringing over Pruſias to his intereſt, now meditated only how he might beſt oppoſe the paſſage of the Romans into Aſia, and prevent its being made the ſeat of war. He imagined, that the moſt effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the ſeas, of which he had been almoſt diſpoſſeſſed, by the loſs of the two battles related above; that then he might employ his fleets againſt whom, and in what manner, he pleaſed; and that it would be impoſſible for the enemy to tranſport an army into Aſia by the Helleſpont, or by any other way, when his fleets ſhould be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus

tiochus therefore reſolved to hazard a ſecond battle, and for that purpoſe went to Epheſus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it to the beſt of his power, furniſhed it abundantly with all things neceſſary to another engagement, and ſent it once more under the command of Polyxenides, in queſt of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his reſolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara; and that king Eumenes had ſailed with his whole fleet to the Cherſoneſus, to join the conſul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myoneſus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked it with as little ſucceſs as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Epheſus, after having ſunk or burnt twenty-nine of his ſhips, and taken thirteen.

(*n*) Antiochus was ſo ſtruck with the news of this defeat, that he ſeemed entirely diſconcerted; and, as if he had been deprived of his ſenſes, on a ſudden he took ſuch meaſures as were evidently contrary to his intereſt. In his conſternation, he ſent orders for drawing his forces out of Lyſimachia and the other cities of the Helleſpont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. who were marching towards thoſe parts, with a deſign of croſſing into Aſia; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave thoſe troops in the places where they were. For Lyſimachia, being very ſtrongly fortified, might have held out a long ſiege, and perhaps very far in the winter; which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of proviſions and forage; and during that interval, he might have taken meaſures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error, in drawing his forces out of thoſe places at a time when they were moſt neceſſary in them, but did it in ſo precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and proviſions (of both which he had laid up very conſiderable

(*n*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 31. Appian. in Syr. p. 194.

derable quantities) behind them in thoſe cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and proviſions in ſuch great plenty, that they ſeemed to have been prepared expreſsly for the uſe of their army; and, at the ſame time, the paſſage of the Helleſpont was ſo open, that they carried over their army without the leaſt oppoſition, at that very part where the enemy might have diſputed it with them to the greateſt advantage.

We have here a ſenſible image of what is ſo often mentioned in the ſcriptures, that when God is determined to puniſh and deſtroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or miniſters, of counſel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Iſaiah threaten his people. (*o*) *For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hoſts doth take away from Jeruſalem, and from Judah, the ſtay and the ſtaff, the whole ſtay of bread, and the whole ſtay of water.——The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient.——The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counſellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.* But a very remarkable circumſtance is, that our pagan hiſtorian ſays here expreſsly, and repeats it twice, that * *God took away the king's judgement, and overthrew his reaſon*; *a puniſhment*, ſays he, *that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into ſome great calamity.* The expreſſion is very ſtrong; *God overthrew the king's reaſon.* He took from him, that is, he refuſed him ſenſe, prudence, and judgement: He baniſhed from his mind every ſalutary thought; he confuſed him, and made him even averſe to all the good counſel that could be given him. This is what † David beſought

(*o*) Iſaiah, iii. 1, 2, 3.

* Θεὸς βλαπτοντὸς ἤδη τὰς λογισμὰς· ὅπερ ἅπασι τοῖς μέλλουσι μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων, ἐπιγίγνεται——ὃ μὲν ὅτι τὸν διάνλων ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας.

† Infatua, quæſo, Domine, conſilium Ahitophel.——Domini autem nutu diſſipatum eſt conſilium Ahitophel utile, UT INDUCERET DOMINUS SUPER ABSALOM MALUM. 2 *Reg.* xv. 31. & xvii. 14. *O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counſel of Ahitophel into fooliſhneſs*, 2 Sam. xiv. 31. *For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counſel of Ahitophel*, TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING EVIL UPON ABSALOM. *Chap.* xvii. *ver.* 1.

beſought God to do with regard to Ahitophel, Abſalom's miniſter: *O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counſel of Ahitophel into fooliſhneſs.* The word, in the Latin verſion, is very ſtrong, INFATUA: the import of which is, how prudent ſoever his counſels may be, make them appear fooliſh and ſtupid to Abſalom; and they accordingly did appear ſo. *And Abſalom and all the men of Iſrael ſaid, The counſel of Huſhai the Archite is better than the counſel of Ahitophel: For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counſel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Abſalom.*

(*p*) The Romans, being come into Aſia, halted ſome time at Troy, which they conſidered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they ſet out to ſettle in Italy. The conſul offered up ſacrifices to Minerva, who preſided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the ſame manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long ſeparation. The inhabitants of this city, ſeeing their poſterity conquerors of the Weſt and of Africa, and laying claim to Aſia, as a kingdom that had been poſſeſſed by their anceſtors, imagined they ſaw Troy riſe out of its aſhes in greater ſplendour than ever. On the other ſide, the Romans were infinitely delighted to ſee themſelves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.

(*q*) When advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had paſſed the Helleſpont, he began to think himſelf undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himſelf from a war in which he had engaged raſhly, and without examining ſeriouſly all its conſequences. This made him reſolve to ſend an ambaſſador to the Romans, to propoſe conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army,

(*p*) Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

(*q*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 33—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiii. Juſtin. l. xxxi. c. 7, 8. Appian. in Syr. p. 105—110.

army, it having halted for ſeveral days that were the feſtival days at Rome, in which the ſacred ſhields, called *Ancilia*, were carried in ſolemn proceſſion with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii*, or prieſts of Mars, whoſe office was to keep theſe ſhields, had not croſſed the ſea yet; for being one of the *Salii*, he could not leave the place where the feſtival was ſolemnizing, ſo that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that perſons of ſo much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worſhip to ſuch improper objects! This delay gave the king ſome hopes; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Aſia, would have attacked him on a ſudden. Beſides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatneſs of ſoul, his generoſity and clemency to thoſe he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now ſatiated with glory, would not be averſe to an accommodation; eſpecially as he had a preſent to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own ſon, a child, who had been taken at ſea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the ſpokeſman in this embaſſy, opened his ſpeech with ſaying, that the very circumſtance which had fruſtrated all the reſt of the negociations for peace between his maſter and the Romans, now made him hope ſucceſs in the preſent; becauſe all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed: that the king, to put a ſtop to the complaints of his ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lyſimachia: that as to Smyrna, Lampſacus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they ſhould demand of him: that he would conſent to refund the Romans half the expences of this war: he concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and viciſſitude of human

human things, and not lay too great a ſtreſs on their preſent proſperity: that they ought to reſt ſatisfied with making Europe, whoſe extent was ſo immenſe, the boundaries of their empire: that if they were ambitious of joining ſome part of Aſia to it, the king would acquieſce with their deſire, provided that the limits of it were clearly ſettled.

The ambaſſador imagined that theſe propoſals, which ſeemed ſo advantageous, could not be rejected; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expences of the war, as the king had very unjuſtly been the occaſion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expence of it: they were not ſatisfied with his evacuating the garriſons he had in Ionia and Ætolia; but pretended to reſtore all Aſia to its liberty, in the ſame manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unleſs the king abandoned all Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the publick audience, endeavoured, purſuant to his private inſtructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by aſſuring him, that the king would ſend him his ſon without ranſom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatneſs of ſoul, and the character of the Romans, he promiſed him a large ſum of money; and aſſured him that he might entirely diſpoſe of all things in his power if he could mediate a peace for him. To theſe overtures, Scipio made the following anſwer: "I am not ſur-
"priſed to find you unacquainted both with me and
"the Romans, as you do not even know the condi-
"tion of the prince who ſent you hither. If (as you
"aſſert) the uncertainty of the fate of arms ſhould
"prompt us to grant you peace upon eaſier terms,
"your ſovereign ought to have kept poſſeſſion of Ly-
"ſimachia, in order to have ſhut us out of the Cher-
"ſoneſus; or elſe he ought to have met us in the
"Helleſpont to have diſputed our paſſage into Aſia
"with us. But, by abandoning them to us, he put
"the yoke on his own neck; ſo that all he now has

"to

" to do, is, to ſubmit to whatever conditions we ſhall " think fit to preſcribe. Among the ſeveral offers he " makes me, I cannot but be ſtrongly affected with " that which relates to the giving me back my ſon: " I hope the reſt will not have the power to tempt " me. As a private man, I can promiſe to preſerve " eternally the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude, for ſo pre- " cious a gift as he offers me in my ſon: but as a pub- " lick one, he muſt expect nothing from me. Go, " therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the beſt " counſel I can give him, is to lay down his arms, " and not reject any articles of peace which may be " propoſed to him. This is the beſt advice I could " give him as a good and faithful friend."

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have preſcribed harder conditions had they conquered him; and ſuch a peace appeared to him as fatal as the moſt unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did alſo on their ſide.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he ſent his ſon to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and reſtored both joy and health to a ſick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, " Go," ſays he to the envoys, " and " thank the king from me, and tell him, that at pre- " ſent, the only teſtimony I can give him of my gra- " titude, is, to adviſe him not to fight, till he hears " of my being arrived in the camp." Perhaps, Scipio thought, that a delay of ſome days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more ſeriouſly than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a ſolid peace.

Although the ſuperiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than thoſe of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately; nevertheleſs, the wiſdom and authority of Scipio, whom he conſidered as his laſt refuge in caſe any calamitous accident ſhould befal him, prevailed over the former conſideration. He paſſed the

the river Phrygius (it is thought to be the Hermus) and poſted himſelf near Magneſia, at the foot of mount Sipylus; where he fortified his camp ſo ſtrongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The conſul followed ſoon after. The armies continued ſeveral days in ſight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and fifty-four elephants: That of the Romans was compoſed, in the whole, of but thirty thouſand men, and ſixteen elephants. The conſul, finding that the king lay ſtill, ſummoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in refuſing to venture a battle. He repreſented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be neceſſary, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, for the ſoldiers to keep the field; or, if they ſhould go into winter-quarters, to diſcontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never ſhowed ſo much contempt for an enemy as on this occaſion: they all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately againſt the enemy; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the palliſades, and paſs the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in caſe they would not quit it. There is ſome probability that the conſul was deſirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, ſince his preſence only would have diminiſhed the glory of his ſucceſs.

The next day, the conſul, after viewing the ſituation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would leſſen the courage of his own ſoldiers and animate the enemy, at laſt marched out with his troops, and both ſides prepared for a deciſive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the conſul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It conſiſted of two Roman legions, of five thouſand four hundred men each, and two ſuch bodies of Latine infantry. The Romans were poſted in the centre, and the Latines in the two wings, the left of which extended

extended towards the river. The firſt line of the centre was compoſed of * pikemen, or *Haſtati*; the ſecond of *Principes*, and the third of *Triarii:* Theſe, properly ſpeaking, compoſed the main body. On the ſide of the right wing, to cover and ſuſtain it, the conſul had poſted on the ſame line, three thouſand Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, three thouſand horſe, eight hundred of which belonged to Eumenes, and the reſt to the Romans. He poſted at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought neceſſary to ſtrengthen the left wing in this manner, becauſe the rivers and banks, which were very ſteep, ſeemed a ſufficient rampart. Nevertheleſs, four ſquadrons of horſe were poſted there. To guard the camp, they left two thouſand Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as voluntiers. The ſixteen elephants were poſted behind the Triarii, by way of corps-de-reſerve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppoſe them to thoſe of the enemy, not only becauſe the latter were greatly ſuperior in number, but becauſe the African elephants (all thoſe in the Roman camp being of that country) were very much inferior both in ſize and ſtrength to thoſe of India, and therefore were not able to oppoſe them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which compoſed it, and the diſparity of their arms. Sixteen thouſand foot, armed after the Macedonian faſhion, and who compoſed the phalanx, formed alſo the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies each of fifty men in front by thirty-two deep; and two elephants were poſted in each of the intervals which ſeparated them. It was this formed the principal ſtrength of the army. The ſight only of the elephants inſpired terrour. Their ſize which in itſelf was very remarkable, was increaſed by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embelliſhed with gold, ſilver, purple,

* *Theſe are the names of the three different bodies of troops of which the infantry of the Roman legions conſiſted.*

purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of ſpoils, and are no defence to an army The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, beſides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx was drawn up in a column, part of the cavalry, fifteen hundred Aſiatick Gauls, three thouſand cuiraſſiers armed cap-a-pee, and a thouſand horſe, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of ſixteen elephants were poſted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment compoſed of the Argyraſpides, ſo called, from their arms being of ſilver. After them twelve hundred Dahæ, all bowmen: to whom two thouſand five hundred Myſians were joined. Then three thouſand light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was cloſed by four thouſand ſlingers and archers, half Cyrteans and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the ſame manner except that, before part of the cavalry, the chariots armed with ſcythes were poſted; with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whoſe thin ſwords (in order that the riders might reach down from the back of theſe beaſts) were ſix feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his ſon, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog riſing in the morning, the ſky grew ſo dark, that it was not poſſible for the king's ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh one another and act in concert, on account of their great extent, and the damp, occaſioned by this fog, ſoftened very much the bow-ſtrings, the ſlings, and * thongs or ſtraps, which were uſed for throwing javelins. The Romans did not ſuffer near ſo much, becauſe they ſcarce uſed any but heavy arms, ſwords and javelins: and as the front of their army was of leſs extent, they could the eaſier ſee one another.

The chariots armed with ſcythes, which Antiochus had flattered himſelf would terrify the enemy, and throw

* Amenta.

throw them into confuſion, firſt occaſioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their ſtrength and weakneſs lay, oppoſed to them the Cretan archers, the ſlingers, and horſe who diſcharged javelins; commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in ſmall platoons; and to pour on them, from every quarter, darts, ſtones, and javelins; ſhouting as loud as poſſible all the while. The horſes, frightened at theſe ſhouts, run away with the chariots ſcour the field on all ſides, and turn againſt their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terrour thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this ſoon proved the deſtruction of the king's army: For the troops which were poſted near theſe chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their diſorder, left every part naked and defenceleſs, even to the very cuiraſſiers. The Roman cavalry vigorouſly charging the latter, it was not poſſible for them to ſtand the attack, ſo that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the ſpot, becauſe the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which ſpread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into diſorder. And now the Roman legions charged it advantageouſly; the ſoldiers who compoſed the phalanx not having an opportunity to uſe their long pikes, becauſe thoſe who fled had taken refuge amongſt them, and prevented their fighting, whilſt the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all ſides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no ſervice to it. The Roman ſoldiers, who had been uſed to fight in the wars in Africa againſt thoſe animals, had learned how to avoid their impetuoſity, either by piercing their ſides with their javelins, or by ham-ſtringing them with their ſwords. The firſt ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into diſorder; and the Romans were upon the point of ſurrounding the rear-ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had obſerved that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four ſquadrons of horſe had been poſted near it, as ſuppoſing it to be ſufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horſe, not only in front but in flank; becauſe that the four ſquadrons being unable to withſtand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into diſorder, the infantry ſoon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had ſtaid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his ſoldiers to ſheathe their ſwords in all they met, who refuſed to face about againſt the enemy. This order being given ſo ſeaſonably, and immediately put in execution, had the deſired effect. The ſtronger fear prevailed over the leſs. Thoſe who were flying, firſt halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius, with his body of troops, which conſiſted of two thouſand brave, well-diſciplined men, oppoſes the king, who was purſuing vigorouſly thoſe who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very ſeaſonably with two hundred horſe. Antiochus, being now charged on every ſide, turned his horſe, and returned. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of ſlain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

(r) It was obſerved, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx was one of the cauſes of his loſing the battle. In this body the chief ſtrength of his army conſiſted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was compoſed entirely of veteran, ſtout, and well-diſciplined ſoldiers. To enable his phalanx to

(r) Appian.

to do him greater ſervice, he ought to have given it leſs depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, half of them were of no uſe; and filled up the reſt of the front with new-raiſed troops, without courage and experience, who conſequently could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander uſed to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the purſuit and the plunder of the camp, fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe: fourteen hundred were taken priſoners, with fifteen elephants, with their guides. The Romans loſt but three hundred foot, and twenty-four horſe. Twenty-five of Eumenes's troops were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Aſia Minor, which now ſubmitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had eſcaped the ſlaughter as he could aſſemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his ſon Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both paſſed mount Taurus with the utmoſt diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

(s) The inſtant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he ſent Antipater, his brother's ſon, and Xeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to ſue for peace. They found the conſul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied themſelves to the latter, who preſented them to the conſul. They did not endeavour to excuſe Antiochus in any manner; and only ſued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You "have always," ſaid he to them, "pardoned with

(s) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 45—49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiv. Appian. in Syr. p. 110—113.

" greatneſs of mind, the kings and nations you have " conquered. How much more ſhould you be in- " duced to do this, after a victory which gives you " the empire of the univerſe? Henceforward, being " become equal to the gods, lay aſide all animoſity " againſt mortals, and make the good of human race " your ſole ſtudy for the future."

The council was ſummoned upon this embaſſy, and after having ſeriouſly examined the affair, the ambaſſadors were called in. Scipio Africanus ſpoke, and acquainted them with what had been reſolved. He ſaid, that as the Romans did not ſuffer themſelves to be depreſſed by adverſity, on the other ſide, they were never too elate from proſperity: that therefore they would not inſiſt upon any other demands, than thoſe they had made before the battle: that Antiochus ſhould evacuate all Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus: that he ſhall pay all the expences of the war, which were computed at fifteen * thouſand Eubœan talents, and the payments were ſettled as follow; five hundred talents down; two thouſand five hundred when the ſenate ſhould have ratified the treaty, and the reſt in twelve years, a thouſand talents in each year: that he ſhould pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him; and the reſidue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furniſhed the king of Syria; and that he ſhould deliver twenty hoſtages, to be choſen by the Romans. He added, " The Romans cannot perſuade them- " ſelves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge, is " ſincerely deſirous of peace. They therefore de- " mand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as " alſo Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent " in fomenting this war." All theſe conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was ſent to Rome with the ambaſſadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the ſenate with the particulars of

* *Fifteen thouſand Attick talents ſterling. Thoſe of Eubœa, according to Budæus, were ſomething amount to about two millions, two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds leſs.*

of this negociation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes ſet out at the ſame time for Rome, whither the ambaſſadors of the cities of Aſia went alſo. Soon after the five hundred talents were paid the conſul at Epheſus, hoſtages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to ſecure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's ſons was included in the hoſtages. He afterwards aſcended the throne, and was ſurnamed Epiphanes. The inſtant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negociating, concluding that they ſhould be ſacrificed by it, they provided for their own ſafety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to ſollicit an accommodation. To ſucceed the better, they had the aſſurance to ſpread a report in Rome, by a knaviſh artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been ſeiſed and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, (and they declared impudently that it was ſo) they aſſumed a haughty tone in the ſenate, and ſeemed to demand a peace rather than ſue for it. This ſhowed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reaſon to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the conſul ſoon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundleſs.

(*t*) The Romans had juſt before raiſed M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulſo to the conſulate. In the diviſion of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Aſia to Manlius. A.M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and ſacrifices were appointed, by way of thankſgiving, for three days.

(*t*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47—50. Ibid. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxv. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

After this religious ſolemnity was over, the ſenate immediately gave audience, firſt to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambaſſadors. At this audience, one of the moſt important affairs that had ever been brought before the ſenate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Aſia, was to be conſidered. It is well known that liberty in general is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpreſſibly jealous of theirs. They conſidered it as an eſtate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their anceſtors; and as a peculiar privilege that diſtinguiſhed them from all other nations. And, indeed, the leaſt attention to the Grecian hiſtory will ſhow, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterpriſes and wars; and in a manner the ſoul of their laws, cuſtoms, and whole frame of government. Philip, and Alexander his ſon, gave the firſt blows to it, and their ſucceſſors had exceedingly abridged, and almoſt extirpated it. The Romans had a little before reſtored it to all the cities of Greece, after having reduced Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Aſia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the ſame indulgence. The Rhodians had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, principally to ſollicit that grace for the Greeks of Aſia; and it was immediately the intereſt of king Eumenes to oppoſe it. This is the ſubject on which the ſenate are now to debate, and of which the deciſion held all Europe and Aſia in ſuſpence.

Eumenes being firſt admitted to audience, he opened his ſpeech with a ſhort compliment to the ſenate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himſelf and his brother, when beſieged in Pergamus (the capital of his kingdom) by Antiochus; and in ſecuring his kingdom againſt the unjuſt enterprizes of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy ſucceſs of their arms both by ſea and land; and on the famous victory they had juſt before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as all Aſia ſituated on this

this ſide of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himſelf and the ſervice he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he choſe rather to have thoſe things related by their generals, than by himſelf. The modeſty of his behaviour was univerſally applauded; but he was deſired to ſpecify the particulars in which the ſenate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to aſk of them; aſſuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompence was propoſed to him by others, and he were permitted to conſult the ſenate, he then would be ſo free, as to aſk that venerable body, what anſwer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not inſiſt upon immoderate and unreaſonable demands; but that, as it was from the ſenate that he expected to be gratified in all he ſhould require, he thought it moſt adviſeable to depend entirely on their generoſity. He was again deſired to explain himſelf clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual conteſt between politeneſs and reſpect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himſelf to be outdone, quitted the aſſembly. The ſenate ſtill perſiſted in their firſt reſolution; and the reaſon they gave for it was, that the king knew what it beſt ſuited his intereſt to aſk. He therefore was brought in again, and obliged to explain himſelf.

He then made the following ſpeech. "I ſhould "have ſtill continued ſilent, did I not know that the "Rhodian ambaſſadors, whom you will ſoon admit "to audience, will make ſuch demands as are directly "contrary to my intereſt. They will plead, in your "preſence, the cauſe of all the Grecian cities of Aſia, "and pretend that they all ought to be declared free. "Now, can it be doubted that their intention in this "is, to deprive me, not only of thoſe cities which "will be delivered, but even of ſuch as were an-"ciently my tributaries; and that their view is, by "ſo ſignal a ſervice, to ſubject them effectually to "themſelves, under the ſpecious title of confederate "cities? They will not fail to expatiate ſtrongly on

" their own diſintereſtedneſs; and to ſay, that they
" do not ſpeak for themſelves, but merely for your
" glory and reputation. You therefore will certainly
" not ſuffer yourſelves to be impoſed upon by ſuch
" diſcourſe; and are far from deſigning, either to diſ-
" cover an affected inequality towards your allies, by
" humbling ſome and raiſing others in an immoderate
" degree; or to allow better conditions to thoſe who
" carried arms againſt you, than to ſuch as have al-
" ways been your friends and allies. With regard to
" my particular pretenſions, and my perſonal intereſt,
" theſe I can eaſily give up; but as to your kindneſs,
" and the marks of friendſhip with which you have
" been pleaſed to honour me, I muſt confeſs that I
" cannot, without pain, ſee others triumph over me
" in that particular. This is the moſt precious part
" of the inheritance I received from my father, who
" was the firſt potentate, in all Greece and Aſia, that
" had the advantage of concluding an alliance, and
" of joining in friendſhip with you; and who culti-
" vated it with an inviolable conſtancy and fidelity to
" his lateſt breath. He was far from confining him-
" ſelf in thoſe points to mere proteſtations of kind-
" neſs and good-will. In all the wars you made in
" Greece, whether by ſea or land, he conſtantly fol-
" lowed your ſta rds, and aided you with all his
" forces, with ſuch a zeal as none of your allies can
" boaſt. It may even be ſaid, that his attachment to
" your intereſt, in the laſt and ſtrongeſt proof he
" gave of his fidelity, was the cauſe of his death:
" For the fire and vigour with which he exhorted the
" Bœotians to engage in alliance with you, occaſioned
" the fatal accident that brought him to his end in a
" few days. I always thought it my duty to tread in
" his ſteps, firmly perſuaded that nothing could be
" more honourable. It indeed was not poſſible for
" me to exceed him in zeal and attachment for your
" ſervice: but then the poſture of affairs, and the war
" againſt Antiochus, have furniſhed me more oppor-
" tunities than my father had, of giving you proofs

" of

" of this. That prince, who was very powerful in " Europe as well as Aſia, offered me his daughter in " marriage: He engaged himſelf to recover all thoſe " cities which had revolted from me: He promiſed " to add conſiderable countries to my dominions, " upon condition that I ſhould join with him againſt " you. I will not aſſume any honour to myſelf from " not accepting offers which tended to alienate me " from your friendſhip; and indeed, how would " it have been poſſible for me to do this? I will only " take notice of what I thought myſelf bound to do " in your favour, as one who was your ancient friend " and ally. I aſſiſted your generals both by ſea and " land, with a far greater number of troops, as well " as a much larger quantity of proviſions, than any " of your allies: I was preſent in all your naval en- " gagements, and theſe were many; and have ſpared " myſelf no toils nor dangers. I ſuffered the hard- " ſhips of a ſiege (the moſt grievous condition of war) " and was blocked up in Pergamus, expoſed every " moment to the loſs of my crown and life. Having " diſengaged myſelf from this ſiege, whilſt Antiochus " on one ſide, and Seleucus his ſon on the other, " were ſtill encamped in my dominions; neglecting " entirely my own intereſt, I ſailed with my whole " fleet to the Helleſpont, to meet Scipio your conſul, " purpoſely to aſſiſt him in paſſing it. I never quit- " ted the conſul from his arrival in Aſia: not a ſol- " dier in your camp has exerted himſelf more than " my brother and myſelf. I have been preſent in " every action whether of foot or horſe. In the laſt " engagement, I defended the poſt which the conſul " aſſigned me. I will not aſk whether, in this parti- " cular, any of your allies deſerve to be compared with " me. One thing I will be ſo confident as to aſſert, " that I may put myſelf in parallel with any of thoſe " kings or ſtates, on whom you have beſtowed the " higheſt marks of your favour. Maſiniſſa had been " your enemy before he became your ally. He did " not come over to you with powerful aids, and, at

" a time

" a time when he enjoyed the full poſſeſſion of his " kingdom; but an exile, driven from his kingdom; " plundered of all his poſſeſſions, and deprived of " all his forces, he fled to your camp, with a ſquadron " of horſe, in order to ſeek an aſylum as well as aid " in his misfortunes. Nevertheleſs, becauſe he has " ſince ſerved you faithfully againſt Syphax and the " Carthaginians, you have not only reſtored him to " the throne of his anceſtors; but, by beſtowing on " him great part of Syphax's kingdom, you have " made him one of the moſt powerful monarchs of " Africa. What therefore may we not expect from " your liberality; we, who have ever been your allies, " and never your enemies? My father, my brothers, " and myſelf, have, on all occaſions, drawn our ſword " in your cauſe, both by ſea and land; not only in " Aſia, but at a great diſtance from our native coun- " try, in Peloponeſus, Bœotia, and Ætolia, during " the wars againſt Philip, Antiochus, and the Æto- " lians. Perhaps ſome one may aſk, what are your " pretenſions? Since you force me to explain myſelf, " they are as follow. If, in repulſing Antiochus " beyond mount Taurus, your intention was to ſeiſe " upon that country, in order to unite it to your em- " pire, I could not wiſh for better neighbours, none " being more able to ſecure my dominions. But if " you are reſolved to reſign it, and to recall your " armies from thence, I dare preſume to ſay, that " none of your allies deſerve advantages from you " better than myſelf. Yet (ſome may obſerve) it is " great and glorious to deliver cities from ſlavery, " and to reſtore them their liberty. I grant it, pro- " vided they had never exerciſed hoſtilities againſt " you. But then, if they have been ſo far attached " to Antiochus's intereſt, will it not be much more " worthy of your wiſdom and juſtice, to beſtow your " favours on allies who had ſerved you faithfully, " than on enemies who have uſed their endeavours to " deſtroy you?"

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The ſenate were exceedingly pleaſed with the king's harangue; and ſhowed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The perſon who ſpoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the ſervices they had done them, firſt in the war againſt Philip, and afterwards in that againſt Antiochus: "Nothing, ſays he (directing himſelf to the ſenators) "grieves us ſo much at this time, as to find ourſelves "obliged to engage in a diſpute with Eumenes, that "prince, for whom, of all princes, both our republick "and ourſelves have the moſt faithful and moſt cor-"dial reſpect. The circumſtance which divides and "ſeparates us on this occaſion, does not proceed from "a diſparity of minds, but from a difference of con-"ditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a king. It "is natural that we, being a free people, ſhould "plead for the liberty of others; and that kings "ſhould endeavour to make all things pay homage to "their ſovereign ſway. However this be, the cir-"cumſtance which perplexes us on this occaſion, is "not ſo much the affair in itſelf, which ſeems to be "of ſuch a nature, that you cannot be very much di-"vided in opinion about it, as the regard we ought "to ſhow to ſo auguſt a prince as Eumenes. If there "was no other way of acknowledging the important "ſervices of a king, your confederate and ally, but "in ſubjecting free cities to his power, you then "might be doubtful; from the fear you might be "under, either of not diſcovering gratitude enough "towards a prince who is your friend; or of renoun-"cing your principles, and the glory you have ac-"quired in the war againſt Philip, by reſtoring all "the Grecian cities to their liberty. But fortune has "put you in ſuch a condition, as not to fear either "of thoſe inconveniences. The immortal gods be "praiſed, the victory you have ſo lately gained, by "which you acquire no leſs riches than glory, enables "you to acquit yourſelves eaſily of what you call a

"debt

" debt. Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Piſidia, " Cherſoneſus, and the country contiguous to it, are " ſubjected by you. One of theſe provinces is alone " capable of enlarging conſiderably the dominions of " Eumenes; but all of them together will equal him " to the moſt powerful kings. You therefore may, " at one and the ſame time, recompence very largely " your allies, and not depart from the maxims which " form the glory of your empire. The ſame motive " prompted you to march againſt Philip and Antio- " chus. As the cauſe is the ſame, the like iſſue is " expected; not only becauſe you yourſelves have al- " ready ſet the example, but becauſe your honour re- " quires it. Others engage in war, merely to diſ- " poſſeſs their neighbours of ſome country, ſome city, " fortreſs, or ſea-port; but you, O Romans, never " draw the ſword from ſuch motives; when you " fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumſtance in- " ſpires all nations with a reverence and awe for your " name and empire, almoſt equal to that which is " paid the gods. The buſineſs is to preſerve that " glory. You have undertaken to reſcue, from the " bondage of kings, and to reſtore to its ancient li- " berty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and ſtill " more renowned for its glorious actions, and its ex- " quiſite taſte for the polite arts and ſciences. It is " the whole nation you have taken under your pro- " tection, and you have promiſed it them to the end " of time. The cities, ſituated in Greece itſelf, are " not more Grecian than the colonies they ſettled in " Aſia. A change of country has not wrought any " alteration in our origin or manners. All the Greek " cities in Aſia have endeavoured to rival our anceſ- " tors and founders, in virtue and in knowledge. " Many perſons in this aſſembly have ſeen the cities " of Greece and thoſe of Aſia: the only difference " is, that we are ſituated at a farther diſtance from " Rome. If a difference in climate ſhould change " the nature and diſpoſition of men, the inhabitants " of Marſeilles, ſurrounded as they are with ignorant

" and

" and barbarous nations, ſhould neceſſarily have long
" ſince degenerated; and yet we are informed that
" you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived
" in the centre of Greece. And indeed, they have
" retained, not only the ſound of the language, the
" dreſs, and the whole exterior of the Greeks; but
" have alſo preſerved ſtill more their manners, laws,
" and genius, and all theſe pure and uncorrupted, by
" their correſpondence with the neighbouring nations.
" Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire.
" Every country on this ſide of it, ought not to appear
" remote from you. Wherever you have carried
" your arms, convey thither alſo the genius and form
" of your government. Let the Barbarians, who are
" accuſtomed to ſlavery, continue under the empire of
" kings, ſince it is grateful to them. The Greeks, in
" the mediocrity of their preſent condition, think it
" glorious to imitate your exalted ſentiments. Born
" and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not
" deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you
" yourſelves are ſo. Formerly, their own ſtrength
" was ſufficient to ſecure empire to them; but now,
" they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for
" ever by thoſe people, with whom they have placed
" it. All they deſire is, that you would be pleaſed to
" protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties,
" as they are now no longer able to defend them by
" their own. But, ſays ſomebody, ſome of thoſe
" cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others
" favoured Philip alſo; and the Tarentines, Pyrrhus?
" To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as
" well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Conſider,
" O Romans, the engagements which this example
" lays you under. Will you indulge to Eumenes's
" ambition (I beg his pardon for the expreſſion) what
" you refuſed to your own juſt indignation? As for
" us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars
" which you have carried on in our countries, we
" have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful
" allies; and you are to judge whether we have really

been

" been ſuch. Now we enjoy peace, we are ſo free " as to give you a counſel which muſt neceſſarily be " glorious to you. If you follow it, it will demon- " ſtrate to the univerſe, that however nobly you ob- " tain victories, you yet know how to make a nobler " uſe of them."

It was impoſſible to forbear applauding this ſpeech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The ſenate found itſelf on this occaſion divided and oppoſed by different ſentiments and duties, of whoſe importance and juſtice they were ſenſible, but which, at the ſame time, it was difficult to reconcile on this occaſion. On one ſide, gratitude, with regard to the ſervices of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a ſtrong impreſſion on their minds: on the other, they earneſtly wiſhed to have it thought, that the ſole view of their undertaking this war was to reſtore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It muſt be confeſſed, that the motives on both ſides were exceedingly ſtrong. The reſtoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely ſuperior to all other triumphs. But then it would be dangerous to diſpleaſe ſo powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the intereſt of the Romans to bring over other kings to their ſide, by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wiſdom of the ſenate knew how to conciliate theſe different duties.

Antiochus's ambaſſadors were brought in after thoſe of Rhodes, and all they requeſted of the ſenate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their deſire, and accordingly, ſome days after, it alſo was ratified in the aſſembly of the people.

The ambaſſadors of the Aſiatick cities were likewiſe heard, and the anſwer made them was, that the ſenate would diſpatch, purſuant to their uſual cuſtom, ten commiſſioners to enquire into, and ſettle the affairs of Aſia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Myſia, ſhould thenceforward be

be ſubject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the poſſeſſion of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies neareſt to Rhodes, and part of Piſidia. In both theſe diſtributions, ſuch cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought againſt Antiochus. It was enacted, that the reſt of the cities of Aſia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, ſhould alſo pay it to Eumenes; and that ſuch as had been tributaries to Antiochus, ſhould be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians ſeemed very well ſatisfied with this new regulation. The latter requeſted as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, deſcended originally, as well as themſelves, from the people of Argos, might be reſtored to their liberty. The ſenate, after conſulting Antiochus's ambaſſadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent oppoſition which thoſe ambaſſadors had made to their requeſt; becauſe Soles, as ſituated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning the moſt hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchſafed them, anſwered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly ſatisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at ſea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and ſtill more juſtly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in perſon. He aſſumed the ſurname of Aſiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to thoſe of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war againſt Antiochus, which was not of long duration, coſt the Romans but little blood and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the ſame time, this victory contributed alſo, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the

the wealth it brought into it, a taſte and love for luxury and effeminate pleaſures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conqueſt of Aſia, that (*u*) Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republick of Rome, and the fatal changes which enſued it. Aſia*, vanquiſhed by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquiſhed Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguiſhed in that city a love for the ancient poverty and ſimplicity, in which its ſtrength and honour had conſiſted. † Luxury, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the ſuperb ſpoils of Aſia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havock in the city than the mightieſt armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

Reflection on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian ſtates, and the kings both of Europe and Aſia.

THE reader begins to diſcover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteriſticks of the Romans, which will ſoon determine the fate of all the ſtates of Greece, and produce an almoſt general change in the univerſe, I mean, a ſpirit of ſovereignty and dominion. This characteriſtick does not diſplay itſelf at firſt in its full extent; it reveals itſelf only by degrees; and it is but by inſenſible progreſſions, which at the ſame time are rapid enough, that we ſee it carried at laſt to its greateſt height.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this people, on certain occaſions, ſhow ſuch a moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, as (to conſider them only from their outſide) exceed every thing we meet with in hiſtory, and to which

(*u*) Plin. l. xiii. c. 5.

* Armis vicit, vitiis victus eſt. *Senec. de Alex.*

† Prima peregrinos obſcœna pecunia mores
Intulit, & turpi fregerunt ſecula luxu
Divitiæ molles——
Nullum crimen abeſt facinuſque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit———
Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.
Juven. Lib. ii. *Satyr.* 6.

which it ſeems inconſiſtent to refuſe praiſe. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war; after croſſing ſeas, and exhauſting their treaſures; cauſed a herald to proclaim, in a general aſſembly, that the Roman people reſtored all the cities to their liberty; and deſired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleaſure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whoſe ancient glory ſufficed to endear them to the Romans? The deſcription of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthuſiaſm of eſteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian ſtates proceeded merely from a principle of generoſity, void of all intereſted motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the ſame nature with ſuch exalted ſentiments; nothing could poſſibly have been more auguſt, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But if we penetrate ever ſo little beyond this glaring outſide, we ſoon perceive, that this ſpecious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded upon a profound policy; wiſe indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but at the ſame time, very remote from that noble diſintereſtedneſs, ſo highly extolled on the preſent occaſion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themſelves to a ſtupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, becauſe the Romans declared them ſo.

Greece, in the times I am now ſpeaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republicks and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former, to preſerve the remains of their ancient liberty; and the latter to complete their ſubjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this ſtate of Greece, were ſenſible, that they needed not be under any apprehenſions from thoſe little republicks, which were grown weak through length of years, by inteſtine feuds, mutual jealouſies,

and the wars they had been forced to ſupport againſt foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was poſſeſſed of well-diſciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs; which had formerly extended its conqueſts to the extremities of the globe; which ſtill harboured an ardent, though chimerical deſire of attaining univerſal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, ſprung from the ſame origin, and united by the common intereſts of monarchy: Macedonia, I ſay, gave juſt alarms to Rome, which, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obſtacles left with regard to their ambitious deſigns, but thoſe powerful kingdoms that ſhared the reſt of the world between them, and eſpecially Macedonia, as it lay neareſt to Italy.

To balance therefore the power of Macedon, and to diſpoſſeſs Philip of the aids he flattered himſelf he ſhould receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppoſe this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I ſay, this latter people declared loudly in favour of thoſe republicks; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other deſign, in outward appearance, than to defend them againſt their oppreſſors; and further to attach them by a ſtill ſtronger tie, they hung out to them a ſpecious bait, (as a reward for their fidelity) I mean liberty, of which all the republicks in queſtion were inexpreſſibly jealous; and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually diſputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and ſwallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whoſe views penetrated no farther. But the moſt judicious and moſt clear-ſighted among them diſcovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time in their publick aſſemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the Weſt; and which, changing

changing on a ſudden into a dreadful tempeſt, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter deſtruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmoſt moderation towards ſuch ſtates and nations as addreſſed them for protection; they ſuccoured them againſt their enemies; took the utmoſt pains in terminating their differences, and in ſuppreſſing all troubles which aroſe amongſt them; and did not demand the leaſt recompence for all theſe ſervices done their allies. By this means their authority gained ſtrength daily, and prepared the nations for entire ſubjection.

And indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their intereſts, and of reconciling them, they rendered themſelves the ſovereign arbiters of thoſe whom they had reſtored to liberty; and whom they now conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as their freedmen. They uſed to depute commiſſioners to them, to enquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reaſons on both ſides, and to decide their quarrels: but when the articles were of ſuch a nature, that there was no poſſibility of reconciling them on the ſpot, they invited them to ſend their deputies to Rome. But afterwards they uſed to ſummon thoſe who refuſed to be reconciled; obliged them to plead their cauſe before the ſenate, and even to appear in perſon there. From arbiters and mediators being become ſupreme judges, they ſoon aſſumed a magiſterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable deciſions, were greatly offended when the moſt implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a ſecond reſiſtance: thus there aroſe, in the Roman ſenate, a tribunal, which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and puniſhments due to all parties. They diſpoſſeſſed the vanquiſhed nations of part of their territories, in order to beſtow them on their allies, by

which they did two things, from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the intereſt of Rome, ſuch kings as were no ways formidable to them; and weakened others, whoſe friendſhip the Romans could not expect, and whoſe arms they had reaſon to dread.

We ſhall hear one of the chief magiſtrates in the republick of the Achæans inveigh ſtrongly in a publick aſſembly againſt this unjuſt uſurpation, and aſk by what title the Romans are empowered to aſſume ſo haughty an aſcendant over them; whether their republick was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct; whether they would be pleaſed, ſhould the Achæans, in their turn, officiouſly pretend to enquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to be on the ſame foot on both ſides? All theſe reflections were very reaſonable, juſt, and unanſwerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the queſtion but force.

They acted in the ſame manner, and their politicks were the ſame, with regard to their treatment of kings. They firſt won over to their intereſt ſuch among them as were the weakeſt, and conſequently the leaſt formidable: they gave them the title of allies, whereby their perſons were rendered in ſome meaſure ſacred and inviolable; and was a kind of ſafeguard againſt other kings more powerful than themſelves: they increaſed their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them ſee what they might expect from their protection. It was this raiſed the kingdom of Pergamus to ſo exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, thoſe great potentates, who divided Europe and Aſia. And, how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his anſwer before he quitted it: how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquiſhed kings? They command them to

deliver

deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hoſtages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or to conclude any alliance without firſt obtaining their leave; baniſh them to the other ſide of the mountains; and leave them, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, only an empty title, and a vain ſhadow of royalty, diveſted of all its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt, but that Providence had decreed to the Romans the ſovereignty of the world, and the ſcriptures had propheſied their future grandeur: But they were ſtrangers to thoſe divine oracles; and beſides, the bare prediction of their conqueſts was no juſtification with regard to them. Although it be difficult to affirm, and ſtill more ſo to prove, that this people had, from their firſt riſe, formed a plan, in order to conquer and ſubject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a fore-knowledge of this; and that a kind of inſtinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we ſee, by the event, to what this ſo-much boaſted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmoſt contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole univerſe as their prey, they graſped, with inſatiable ambition, the conqueſt of the whole world: They ſeiſed indiſcriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word, they preſcribed no other limits to their vaſt projects, but thoſe which deſerts and ſeas made it impoſſible to paſs.

SECT. VIII. FULVIUS *the conſul ſubdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles.* MANLIUS, *the other conſul, conquers the Aſiatick Gauls.* ANTIOCHUS, *in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of* DANIEL's *prophecy concerning* ANTIOCHUS.

A.M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189.

(a) DURING the expedition of the Romans in Aſia, ſome commotions had happened in Greece. Amynander, by the aid of the Ætolians, was reſtored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garriſons that held them for king Philip. He deputed ſome ambaſſadors to the ſenate of Rome; and others into Aſia to the two Scipios, who were then at Epheſus, after their ſignal victory over Antiochus, to excuſe his having employed the arms of the Ætolians againſt Philip, and alſo to make his complaints of that prince.

The Ætolians had likewiſe undertaken ſome enterpriſes againſt Philip, in which they had met with tolerable ſucceſs: But, when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambaſſadors they had ſent to Rome were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the conſul was actually marching againſt them, they were ſeiſed with real alarms. Finding it would be impoſſible for them to reſiſt the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourſe to intreaties; and, in order to inforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambaſſadors to thoſe whom they were going to ſend to Rome, in order to ſue for peace.

The conſul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid ſiege to Ambracia, in which was a ſtrong garriſon of Ætolians, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at laſt perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to hold out long againſt the Roman arms, they ſent new ambaſſadors

(a) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1—11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26—28.

baſſadors to the conſul, inveſting them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Thoſe which were propoſed to them being judged exceedingly ſevere, the ambaſſadors, notwithſtanding their full powers, deſired that leave might be granted them to conſult the aſſembly once more; but the members of it were diſpleaſed with them for it, and therefore ſent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambaſſadors, whom the ſenate had ſent back to the conſul, were come to him, to whom Amynander had alſo repaired. The latter having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had ſpent many years of his baniſhment, prevailed with the inhabitants to ſurrender themſelves at laſt to the conſul. A peace was alſo granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follow: they ſhould firſt deliver up their arms and horſes to the Romans: Should pay them one thouſand talents of ſilver (about an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds) half to be paid down directly: ſhould reſtore to both the Romans, and their allies, all the deſerters and priſoners: ſhould look upon, as their enemies and friends, all thoſe who were ſuch to the Romans: In fine, ſhould give up forty hoſtages, to be choſen by the conſul. Their ambaſſadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exaſperated againſt the Ætolians, as well on account of their paſt conduct, as the complaints made againſt them by Philip in his letters written on that head. At laſt, however, the ſenate were moved by their entreaties, and thoſe of the ambaſſadors of Athens and Rhodes, who concurred in them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformably to the conditions which the conſul had preſcribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the ſum impoſed on them, in ſuch a manner, that every piece of gold ſhould be eſtimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of ſilver of the ſame weight, which ſhows the proportion between gold and ſilver at that time.

(*b*) Fulvius the conſul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, croſſed into the iſland of Cephalenia, in order to ſubdue it. All the cities, at the firſt ſummons, ſurrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after ſubmitting to the conqueror, were ſorry for what they had done, and accordingly ſhut their gates againſt the Romans, which obliged them to beſiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, inſomuch that it was four months before the conſul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponneſus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general aſſembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium: But Philopœmen, who then was an officer of ſtate, reſolved to change that cuſtom, and to cauſe the aſſembly to be held ſucceſſively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league; and, that very year he ſummoned it to Argos. The conſul would not oppoſe this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, becauſe he thought their cauſe the moſt juſt; yet, ſeeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the aſſembly, without declaring his opinion.

(*c*) But the affair relating to Sparta was ſtill more intricate, and, at the ſame time, of greater importance. Thoſe who had been baniſhed from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themſelves in towns and caſtles along the coaſt, and from thence infeſted the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of thoſe towns, called Las, and carried it, but were ſoon after driven out of it. This enterpriſe alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourſe to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in employment, ſecretly favoured the exiles; and endeavoured on all occaſions, to leſſen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 28—30. (*c*) Ibid. n. 30—34.

acted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and caſtles of the ſea-coaſt of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbidden the Lacedæmonians acceſs to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed ſome of the inhabitants; the Achæan aſſembly demanded that the contrivers of that maſſacre ſhould be delivered up to them; and that otherwiſe they ſhould be declared violators of the treaty. Ambaſſadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in ſo haughty a tone, exceedingly exaſperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of thoſe who had held a correſpondence with Philopœmen and the exiles; diſſolved their alliance with the Achæans; and ſent ambaſſadors to Fulvius the conſul, who was then in Cephalenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to intreat him to come and take poſſeſſion of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been tranſacted in Sparta, they unanimouſly declared war againſt that city, which began by ſome ſlight incurſions both by ſea and land; the ſeaſon being too far advanced for undertaking any thing conſiderable.

The conſul, being arrived in Peloponneſus, heard both parties in a publick aſſembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both ſides. Without coming to any determination, the firſt thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to ſend their reſpective ambaſſadors to Rome; and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Acheans was in great conſideration at Rome, but, at the ſame time, the Romans did not care to diſguſt the Lacedæmonians entirely. The ſenate therefore returned an obſcure and ambiguous anſwer (which has not come down to us) whereby the Achæans might flatter themſelves, that they were allowed full power to infeſt Sparta; and the Spartans, that ſuch power was very much limited and reſtrained.

The

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of firſt magiſtrate. He marched the army to a ſmall diſtance from Sparta without loſs of time; and again demanded to have thoſe perſons ſurrendered to him, who had concerted the enterpriſe againſt the town of Las; declaring that they ſhould not be condemned or puniſhed till after being heard. Upon this promiſe, thoſe who had been nominated expreſsly ſet out, accompanied by ſeveral of the moſt illuſtrious citizens, who looked upon their cauſe as their own, or rather as that of the publick. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an inſulting air, and began to vent the moſt injurious expreſſions againſt them; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiouſly. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations: the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the ſeditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithſtanding the protection due to ambaſſadors, and in ſpite of the prohibition of the ſupreme magiſtrate. Seventeen were immediately ſtoned to death, and ſeventy-three reſcued by the magiſtrate out of the hands of thoſe furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it ſaid, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almoſt without ſo much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that ſo unjuſt, ſo cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepeſt affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans impoſed the ſame conditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by ſtorm. They gave orders that the walls ſhould be demoliſhed; that all ſuch mercenaries as the tyrants had kept

kept in their ſervice, ſhould leave Laconia; that the ſlaves whom thoſe tyrants had ſet at liberty (and there were a great number of them) ſhould alſo be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being ſeiſed by the Achæans, and ſold or carried whereſoever they thought proper; that the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus ſhould be annulled. In fine, that the Spartans ſhould be aſſociated in the Achæan league, with whom they ſhould thenceforth form but one body, and follow the ſame cuſtoms and uſages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls; with which they began the execution of the orders preſcribed them: and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. * Sparta had long ſubſiſted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. (*d*) Pauſanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be † built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates alſo, that the tyrants, for their own ſecurity, had fortified with walls, all ſuch parts of the city as were moſt open and acceſſible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of theſe walls. But it was with inexpreſſible regret they ſaw the exiles, who had cauſed its deſtruction, returning into it, and who might juſtly be conſidered as its moſt cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this laſt blow, loſt all its priſtine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and ſubjected to the Achæans. ‡ The moſt fatal circumſtance with regard to

(*d*) In Achaiac. p. 412.

* Fuerat quondam ſine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planiſque objecerant murum: altiora loca & difficiliora aditu ſtationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur *Liv.* l. xxxiv. n. 38.

Spartani urbem, quam ſemper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra reſponſa fatorum & veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffiſi, murorum præſidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneraviſſe à majoribus, ut cùm multis ſeculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives ſalvos ſe fore non exiſtimaverint, niſi intra muros laterant. *Juſtin.* l. xiv. c. 5.

† *Juſtin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls, at the time that Caſſander meditated the invaſion of Greece.*

‡ Nulla res tanto erat damno, quàm diſciplina Lycurgi, cui per ſeptingentos annos aſſueverant, ſublata, *Liv.*

to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force ſeven hundred years, and had been the ſource of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of ſo renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, ſeems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who juſtly ranks him among the greateſt captains of Greece, does but juſt glance at this action, and ſays only a word or two of it. It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that the cauſe of the exiles was favourable in itſelf They had Ageſipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but ſo open a violation of the law of nations (to which Philopœmen gave at leaſt occaſion, if he did not conſent to it) cannot be excuſed in any manner.

(*e*) It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome againſt Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjuſt and cruel action, defied the power of the republick of Rome, and inſulted its majeſty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. At laſt, A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Lepidus the conſul wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans ſent an ambaſſador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to juſtify their conduct.

(*f*) In the ſame campaign, and almoſt at the ſame time that Fulvius the conſul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other conſul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elſewhere, of the inroad thoſe nations had made into different countries of Europe and Aſia under Brennus. The Gauls in queſtion had ſettled in that part of Aſia Minor, called, from their name, Gallo-Græcia, or Gallatia; and formed three bodies, three different ſtates, the Toliſtobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectoſages. Theſe had made themſelves formidable to all the nations round,

(*e*) Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii.

(*f*) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 12—27. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 29—35.

round, and ſpread terrour and alarms on all ſides. The pretence made uſe of for declaring war againſt them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had reſigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter ſet out from Epheſus, and marched againſt the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great ſervice to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus ſupplied his place, and was the conſul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had ſubdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the leaſt oppoſition. Manlius judged that it would be neceſſary to harangue his forces on this occaſion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no ways ſurpriſed," ſays he, "that the Gauls ſhould have made their names "formidable to and ſpread the ſtrongeſt terrour in "the minds of nations, of ſo ſoft and effeminate a "caſt as the Aſiaticks. Their tall ſtature, their fair, "flowing hair, which deſcends to their waiſts; their "unwieldy bucklers, their long ſwords: Add to this, "their ſongs, their cries and howlings, at the firſt "onſet; the dreadful claſhing of their arms and "ſhields: all this may, indeed, intimidate men not "accuſtomed to them, but not you, O Romans, "whoſe victorious arms have ſo often triumphed over "that nation. Beſides, experience has taught you, "that after the Gauls have ſpent their firſt fire, an "obſtinate reſiſtance blunts the edge of their courage, "as well as their bodily ſtrength; and that then, "quite incapable of ſupporting the heat of the ſun, "fatigue, duſt, and thirſt, their arms fall from their "hands, and they ſink down quite tired and ex-"hauſted. Do not imagine theſe the ancient Gauls, "inured to fatigues and dangers. The luxurious "plenty of the country they have invaded, the ſoft "temperature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy "and delicacy of the people among whom they in-"habit, have entirely enervated them. They now "are no more than Phrygians, in Gallick armour;

"and

" and the only circumſtance I fear is, that you will " not reap much honour by the defeat of a rabble of " enemies, ſo unworthy of diſputing victory with " Romans."

It was a general opinion, with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a ſure way to conquer them, was, to let them exhauſt their firſt fire, which immediately was deadened by oppoſition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had loſt all ſtrength and vigour: that their bodies were even incapable of ſuſtaining the ſlighteſt fatigues long, or withſtanding the ſun-beams, when they darted with ever ſo little violence: that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were leſs than women at the concluſion of it. (g) *Gallos primo impetu feroces eſſe, quos ſuſtinere ſatis ſit —— Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantiſſima laboris atque æſtus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plus quàm virorum, poſtrema minùs quàm feminarum eſſe.*

Thoſe who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the ſame idea of them. However, the late tranſactions in Italy and eſpecially on the Rhine, muſt have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I queſtion whether they ever diſcovered greater patience, reſolution, and bravery, than the French did at the ſiege of Philipſburg. I do not ſpeak merely of the generals and officers; courage being natural to, and in a manner inherent in them: but even the common ſoldiers ſhowed ſuch an ardour, intrepidity, and greatneſs of ſoul, as amazed the generals. The ſight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and ſtill more ſo by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, ſerved only to animate them the more. During the whole courſe of this long and laborious ſiege, in which they ſuffered ſo much by the fire of the beſieged, and the heat of the ſun; by the violence of the rains and inundations of the Rhine; they never once

(g) Liv. l. x. n. 28.

once breathed the leaſt murmur or complaint. They were ſeen wading through great floods, where they were up to the ſhoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outſide of the trenches full of water, expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding, with the loudeſt ſhouts, that the enemy ſhould not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and to dread no other circumſtance, but their being denied the opportunity of ſignalizing their courage and zeal ſtill more, by ſtorming the city. What I now relate is univerſally known. The moſt noble ſentiments of honour, bravery and intrepidity, muſt neceſſarily have taken deep root in the mind of our countrymen; otherwiſe, they could not have rouzed at once ſo glorioufly in a firſt campaign, after having been in a manner aſleep during a twenty-year's peace,

The teſtimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is ſo glorious to the nation, and even reflects ſo bright a luſtre on the king, that I am perſuaded none of my readers will be diſpleaſed to find it inſerted here entire. If this digreſſion is not allowable in a hiſtory like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable in a Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

The King's Letter to the Marſhal D'ASFELDT.

COUSIN,

I Am entirely ſenſible of the important ſervice you have done me in taking Philipſburg. Nothing leſs than your courage and reſolution could have ſurmounted the obſtacles to that enterpriſe, occaſioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have had the ſatisfaction to ſee your example inſpire the officers and ſoldiers with the ſame ſentiments. I cauſed an account to be ſent me daily, of all the tranſactions of that ſiege, and always obſerved, that the ardour and patience of my troops increaſed in proportion

to

to the difficulties that aroſe either from the ſwelling of the floods, the preſence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of ſucceſs may be expected from ſo valiant a nation: and I enjoin you to inform the general-officers and others, and even the whole army, that I am highly ſatisfied with them. You need not doubt my having the ſame ſentiments with regard to you; to aſſure you of which is the ſole motive of this letter; and (Couſin) I beſeech the Almighty to have you in his keeping, and direct you.

Verſailles, July 23, 1734.

I now return to the hiſtory. After Manlius had ended the ſpeech repeated above, the army diſcovered by their ſhouts, how impatiently they deſired to be led againſt the enemy; and accordingly the conſul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once ſuſpect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay ſo remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppoſe them. But notwithſtanding this, they made a long and vigorous reſiſtance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; diſputed the paſſes with him; ſhut themſelves up in their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and retired to ſuch eminences as they thought inacceſſible. However, the conſul, ſo far from being diſcouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them ſeparately, ſtormed their cities, and defeated them in ſeveral engagements. I ſhall not deſcend to particulars, which were of little importance, and conſequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at laſt to ſubmit, and to confine themſelves within the limits preſcribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrours it was under from thoſe Barbarians, who hitherto had done nothing but harraſs and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was reſtored on this ſide, that the empire of the Romans was eſtabliſhed there from the river Halys to mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Aſia Minor. (*b*) We are told

(*b*) Cic. Orat. pro Dejot. n. 36. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

told that * Antiochus ſaid, on this occaſion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from the cares and troubles which the government of ſo vaſt an extent of country muſt neceſſarily have brought upon him.

(*i*) Fulvius, one of the conſuls, returned to Rome, in order to preſide in the aſſembly. The conſulate was given to M. Valerius Meſſala, and C. Livius Salinator. The inſtant the aſſembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himſelf and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconſuls. A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 188.

Manlius had repaired to Epheſus, to ſettle, with the ten commiſſioners who had been appointed by the ſenate, the moſt important articles of their commiſſion. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as alſo that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been ſentenced to pay the Romans ſix hundred talents (ſix hundred thouſand crowns) for having aſſiſted Antiochus; however, half this ſum was accepted at the requeſt of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a preſent to Eumenes, of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repaſſed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the ſeveral cities to audience, and ſettled the chief difficulties.

(*k*) Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raiſe the ſum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progreſs through the eaſtern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria, during his abſence, to Seleucus his ſon, whom he had declared his preſumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very conſiderable treaſure in the temple of Ju- A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187.

(*i*) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35. (*k*) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 298. Juſtin. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. cap. xi.

* Antiochus magnus — dicere ſolitus, benignè ſibi à populo Romano eſſe factum, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur. *Cic.*

piter Belus. This was a ſtrong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a falſe pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled againſt him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiouſly during a long ſeries of years. However, the people, exaſperated by this ſacrilege, rebelled againſt him, and murthered him with all his followers. (*l*) Aurelius Victor ſays, that he was killed by ſome of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praiſe for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his ſubjects permiſſion, and even commanded them not to obey his ordinances, in caſe they ſhould be found to interfere with the laws, ſhows that he had a high regard for juſtice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved, on all occaſions, with ſuch bravery, prudence, and application, as had given ſucceſs to all his enterpriſes, and acquired him the title of the *Great*. But from that time his wiſdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war againſt the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for, the wiſe counſels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept: theſe circumſtances ſullied the glory of his former ſucceſſes; and his death, occaſioned by a wicked and ſacrilegious enterpriſe, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verſe, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accompliſhed.

(*m*) *But his ſons* (of the king of the north) *ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall aſſemble a multitude of great forces: And one* (Antiochus the Great) *ſhall certainly come and overflow, and paſs through: then ſhall he return, and be ſtirred up even to his fortreſs.* (*n*) This king of the North

(*l*) De viris illuſt. cap. liv. (*m*) Ver. 10. (*n*) See ver. 8.

North was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two ſons, Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus, afterwards ſurnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was ſucceeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war againſt Ptolemy Philopator, king of the South, that is, of Egypt; diſpoſſeſſed him of Cœloſyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow paſſes near Berytus, and made himſelf maſter of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuſe him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is ſtill more expreſſive. *He* (meaning Antiochus) *ſhall come. He ſhall overflow the* enemy's country. *He ſhall paſs over* mount Libanus. *He ſhall halt*, whilſt overtures of peace are making him. *He ſhall advance with ardour as far as the fortreſſes*, that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verſes.

(o) *And the king of the South ſhall be moved with choler, and ſhall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the North: and he ſhall ſet forth a great multitude, but the multitude ſhall be given into his hand.* Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was neceſſary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms and repulſe the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: *Provocatus.* At laſt he put himſelf at the head of his troops; and by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a ſignal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

(p) *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart ſhall be lifted up, and he ſhall caſt down many ten thouſands; but he ſhall not be ſtrengthened by it.* Antiochus loſt upwards of ten thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and four thouſand of his men were taken priſoners. Philopator, having marched after his victory to Jeruſalem, was ſo audacious as to attempt

(o) Ver. 11. (p) Ver. 12.

to enter the ſanctuary, *his heart ſhall be lifted up*; and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmoſt pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have diſpoſſeſſed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himſelf with recovering Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former exceſſes; *but he ſhall not be ſtrengthened by it.*

(q) *For the king of the North ſhall return, and ſhall ſet forth a multitude greater than the former, and ſhall certainly come (after certain years) with a great army, and with much riches.* Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raiſed a great army in thoſe provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the concluſion of the firſt war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or ſix years of age, had ſucceeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the ſource of the river Jordan, he ſubjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he gained at Raphia.

(r) *And in thoſe times there ſhall many ſtand up againſt the king of the South.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria againſt the infant monarch of Egypt: by the conſpiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to diſpoſſeſs him of his crown and life. * *Alſo the robbers of thy people ſhall exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh the viſion, but they ſhall fall.* Several apoſtate Jews, to ingratiate themſelves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in oppoſition to the ſacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but it was not long-lived; for when Antiochus regained poſſeſſion of Judea and Jeruſalem, he either extirpated, or drove out of the country all the partiſans

(q) Ver. 13. (r) Ver. 14.

* *The angel Gabriel here ſpeaks to Daniel.*

partiſans of Ptolemy. This ſubjection of the Jews to the ſovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accompliſhment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, ſon of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occaſioned a great number of them to *fall* into apoſtacy.

(*s*) *So the king of the North ſhall come, and caſt up a mount, and take the moſt fenced cities, and the arms of the South ſhall not withſtand, neither his choſen people, neither ſhall there be any ſtrength to withſtand*——— (*t*) *But he that cometh againſt him, ſhall do according to his own will, and none ſhall ſtand before him: And he ſhall ſtand in the glorious land which by his hand ſhall be conſumed.* Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, beſieged and took, firſt Sidon then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of thoſe provinces, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the choſen troops which the king of Egypt had ſent againſt him. *He did according to his own will*, in Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, and nothing was able to make the leaſt reſiſtance againſt him. Purſuing his conqueſts in Paleſtine, he entered Judea, *that glorious*, or, according to the Hebrew, *that deſirable land.* He there eſtabliſhed his authority; and ſtrengthened it, by repulſing from the caſtle of Jeruſalem the garriſon which Scopas had thrown into it. This garriſon being ſo well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to ſend for all his troops in order to force it; and the ſiege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and *conſumed* by the ſtay the army was obliged to make in it.

(*u*) *He ſhall alſo ſet his face to enter with the ſtrength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus ſhall he do, and he ſhall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her: But ſhe ſhall not ſtand on his ſide, neither be for him.* Antiochus, ſeeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would beſt ſuit his intereſt to lull the king aſleep, by

(*s*) Ver. 15. (*t*) Ver. 16. (*u*) Ver. 17.

by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to *corrupt her*, and excite her to betray her huſband: but he was not ſucceſsful in his deſign; for as ſoon as ſhe was married to Ptolemy, ſhe renounced her father's intereſts, and embraced thoſe of her huſband. It was on this account that we ſee her * join with him in the embaſſy which was ſent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

(*x*) *After this he ſhall turn his face unto the iſles, and ſhall take many: But a prince for his own behalf ſhall cauſe the reproach which Antiochus had offered him to ceaſe; without his own reproach he ſhall cauſe it to turn upon him.* Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, ſent his two ſons, at the head of the land-army to Sardis, whilſt himſelf embarked on board the fleet, and ſailed to the Ægean ſea, where he took ſeveral iſlands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that ſide. However, *the prince* of the people, whom he had inſulted by making this invaſion, that is, L. Scipio the Roman conſul, *cauſed the reproach to turn upon him*; by defeating him at mount Sipilus and repulſing him from every part of Aſia Minor.

(*y*) *Then he ſhall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he ſhall ſtumble and fall, and not be found.* Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in it. He went ſoon after into the provinces of the Eaſt, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there loſt his life in a miſerable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in moſt places, according to the Hebrew text. I confeſs there may be ſome doubtful and obſcure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and are variouſly interpreted by commentators;

(*x*) Ver. 18.

* Legati ab Ptolemæo & Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quòd Manius Acilius conſul Antiochum regem Græciæ expuliſſet venerunt. *Liv.* l. xxxvii. n. 3.

(*y*) Ver. 19.

tors; but is it poſſible for the ſubſtance of the prophecy to appear obſcure and doubtful? Can any reaſonable man, who makes uſe of his underſtanding, aſcribe ſuch a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and ſagacity? Can any light, but which proceeds from God himſelf, penetrate, in this manner, into the darkneſs of futurity, and point out the events of it in ſo exact and circumſtantial a manner? Not to mention what is here ſaid concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldeſt reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngeſt is Antiochus, ſurnamed the Great, from his great actions; and, accordingly, our prophet gives a tranſient account of the principal circumſtances of his life, his moſt important enterpriſes, and even the manner of his death. In it we ſee his expeditions into Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, ſeveral cities of which are beſieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jeruſalem, which is laid waſte by the ſtay his troops make in it; his conqueſts of a great many iſlands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not anſwer the deſign he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman conſul; his retreat to Antioch; and, laſtly, his unfortunate end. Theſe are, in a manner, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to reſemble none but himſelf. Is it to be ſuppoſed that the prophet drew thoſe features without deſign and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts, which denote the accompliſhment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in queſtion, and whoſe fidelity cannot be ſuſpected in any manner. We muſt renounce, not only religion, but reaſon, to refuſe to acknowledge, in ſuch prophecies as theſe, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are preſent, and who governs the world with abſolute power.

SECT. IX. SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR *ſucceeds to the throne of* ANTIOCHUS *his father. The beginning of the reign of* PTOLEMY EPIPHANES *in Egypt. Various embaſſies ſent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made againſt* PHILIP. *Commiſſioners are ſent from Rome to enquire into thoſe complaints; and at the ſame time to examine concerning the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair.*

A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. (*a*) ANTIOCHUS the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator, his eldeſt ſon, whom he had left in Antioch when he ſet out for the eaſtern provinces, ſucceeded him. But his reign was obſcure and contemptible, occaſioned by the miſery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant* ſum (a thouſand talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

(*b*) Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his acceſſion to the throne, he had ſent an ambaſſador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accordingly ſent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the hiſtorian, and two other ambaſſadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambaſſador to a banquet, they entered into diſcourſe concerning that prince. In the praiſe the ambaſſador beſtowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chaſe, his addreſs in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exerciſe of his arms; and, to give an example of what he aſſerted, he declared, that this prince, being on horſeback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the diſcharge of a ſingle javelin.

The ſame year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter,

(*a*) Appian. in Syr. p. 116. (*b*) Polyb. in Leg. c. xxxvii.

* *About* 190,000*l.*

daughter, queen of Egypt, had a ſon, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometer. (*c*) The whole realm expreſſed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœloſyria and Paleſtine diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the provinces, and the moſt conſiderable perſons of thoſe countries went to Alexandria upon that occaſion with the moſt ſplendid equipages. Joſephus, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere, who was receiver-general of thoſe provinces, being too old to take ſuch a journey, ſent his youngeſt ſon, Hyrcanus, in his ſtead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who uſed to divert the king with his jeſts, ſaid to him; "Do but behold, "ſir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and "your majeſty may judge in what a manner his fa-"ther gnaws your provinces." Thoſe words made the king laugh; and he aſked Hyrcanus how he came to have ſo great a number of bones before him. "Your "majeſty need not wonder at that (replied he); for "dogs eat both fleſh and bones, as you ſee the reſt of "the perſons at your table have done (pointing to "them); but men are contented to eat the fleſh, and "leave the bones like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confuſed. When the day for making the preſents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out that he had only * five talents to preſent, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themſelves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greateſt preſents made by the reſt did not exceed † twenty talents. But Hyrcanus preſented to the king an hundred boys, well ſhaped and finely dreſſed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like preſent for that princeſs. The whole

(*c*) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 4.

* *About ſeven hundred and fifty pounds.* † *About three thouſand pounds.*

whole court was amazed at ſuch uncommon and ſurpaſſing magnificence; and the king and queen diſmiſſed Hyrcanus with the higheſt marks of their favour and eſteem.

A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. (*d*) Ptolemy, in the firſt year of his reign, governed in ſo auſpicious a manner, as gained him univerſal approbation and applauſe: becauſe he followed, in all things, the advice of Ariſtomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poiſon to kings) prevailed over the wiſe counſels of that able miniſter. That prince ſhunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Ariſtomenes frequently took of adviſing him to act more conſiſtently with himſelf, he diſpatched him by poiſon. Having thus got rid of a troubleſome cenſor, whoſe ſight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it ſeemed to make him, he abandoned himſelf entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into exceſſes and diſorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the adminiſtration of affairs, but his wild paſſions; and treated his ſubjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at laſt quite weary of the oppreſſions and injuſtice to which they were daily expoſed, began to cabal together, and to form aſſociations againſt a king who oppreſſed them ſo grievouſly. Some perſons of the higheſt quality having engaged in this conſpiracy, they had already formed deſigns for depoſing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

(*e*) To extricate himſelf from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he choſe Polycrates for his prime miniſter, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the moſt conſummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had riſen to the command of the army under his father, and had ſerved in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occaſion he had contributed very much to the victory.

(*d*) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294. (*e*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.

victory. He was afterwards governor of the iſland of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conſpiracy was diſcovered, the expedients he employed on that occaſion conduced very much to the preſervation of the ſtate.

Ptolemy, by the aſſiſtance of this prime miniſter, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and ſubmit on certain conditions. But, having ſeiſed their perſons, he forfeited his promiſe; and, after having exerciſed various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again. A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now ſpeaking of, ſeems to have been very powerful, and in great conſideration. We have ſeen that Ptolemy, a little after his acceſſion to the throne, had been very ſollicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was alſo very deſirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republick ſix thouſand ſhields, and two hundred talents of braſs. His offer was accepted; and, in conſequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the preſents, and to renew the alliance; and theſe returned ſoon after with Ptolemy's ambaſſador, in order to ratify the treaty. *(f)* King Eumenes alſo ſent an embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe, and offered an hundred and twenty talents (about twenty-one thouſand pounds ſterling) the intereſt of which to be applied for the ſupport of the members of the publick council. Others came likewiſe from Seleucus, who, in the name of their ſovereign, offered ten ſhips of war completely equipped; and, at the ſame time, deſired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambaſſador, whom Philopœmen had ſent to Rome to juſtify his conduct, was returned from thence, and deſired to give an account of his commiſſion. A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186.

For

(f) Polyb. in Legat. c. xiv. p. 850—852.

For theſe ſeveral reaſons a great aſſembly was held. The firſt man that entered it was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had ſaid in the ſenate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the anſwer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the ſenate, in reality, were not pleaſed with the ſubverſion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the maſſacre of the Spartans; but, at the ſame time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no perſon happened to ſpeak for or againſt the anſwers of the ſenate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the ſame affair will be the ſubject of much debate in the ſequel.

The ambaſſadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and propoſed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendſhip and tender regard which their ſovereign had always ſhowed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to ſay, Apollonius of Sicyon roſe up, and obſerved, that the preſent which the king of Pergamus offered, conſidered in itſelf, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes propoſed to himſelf by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that caſe, the republick could not accept of this preſent without bringing upon itſelf everlaſting infamy, and being guilty of the greateſt of prevarications. "For, in a word (continued he) as "the law forbids every individual, whether of the "people or of the magiſtrates, to receive any gift "from a king upon any pretence whatſoever, the "crime would be much greater, ſhould the common-"wealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. "That with regard to the infamy, it was ſelf-evident; "for (ſays Apollonius) what could reflect greater igno-"miny in a council, than to receive, annually, "from a king, money for its ſubſiſtence; and to

"aſſemble,

" aſſemble, in order to deliberate on publick affairs, " only as ſo many of his penſioners, and in a manner " riſing from his table, after having * ſwallowed the " bait that concealed the hook? But what dreadful " conſequences might not be expected from ſuch a " cuſtom, ſhould it be eſtabliſhed? That afterwards " Pruſias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would " alſo be liberal of his benefactions, and after him, " Seleucus: that, as the intereſt of kings differed " widely from thoſe of republicks, and as, in the " latter, their moſt important deliberations related to " their differences with crowned heads, two things " would inevitably happen; either the Achæans " would tranſact all things to the advantage of thoſe " princes, and to the prejudice of their own country; " or elſe they muſt behave with the blackeſt ingrati- " tude towards their benefactors." He concluded his ſpeech with exhorting the Achæans to refuſe the preſent which was offered; and added, " That it was " their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for at- " tempting to bribe their fidelity by ſuch an offer." The whole aſſembly with ſhouts rejected unanimouſly the propoſal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of ſo large a ſum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the reſt of the ambaſſadors who had been ſent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Ariſtenes, who preſided in the aſſembly, having aſked what treaty the king of Egypt deſired to renew (ſeveral having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions) and nobody being able to anſwer that queſtion, the deciſion of that affair was referred to another time.

At laſt the ambaſſadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged

* *Polybius, by this expreſſion, would denote, that ſuch a penſion was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the deſign which Eumenes had of making all thoſe who compoſed the council his dependents.* Καλαπωκότας οἱονεὶ δέλεας.

judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ſhips he offered.

A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185. Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome againſt Philip. The ſenate thereupon nominated three commiſſioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of thoſe affairs upon the ſpot.

(g) Philip ſtill retained the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt the Romans, with whom he believed he had juſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, becauſe by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on ſuch of his ſubjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to conſole him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynander the king of that country; by giving up to him ſome cities of Theſſaly, which the Ætolians had ſeiſed; by leaving him the poſſeſſion of Demetrias and all Magneſia; and by not oppoſing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumſtances had ſomewhat appeaſed his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repoſe which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf. But the complaints that were made againſt him at Rome, having been liſtened to there, revived all his former diſguſts.

The three commiſſioners being arrived at Tempe in Theſſaly, an aſſembly was called there, to which came, on one ſide, the ambaſſadors of the Theſſalians, of the Perrhebians and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumſtance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of ſo powerful a prince. The ambaſſadors explained their various complaints againſt Philip, with greater or leſs force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excuſing themſelves for being obliged to plead againſt him, in favour of their liberty, intreated him

(g) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23—29.

him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a maſter and to imitate the Romans in that particular who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendſhip than fear. The reſt of the ambaſſadors, being leſs reſerved, and not ſo moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injuſtice, oppreſſion, and uſurpation; aſſuring the commiſſioners, that in caſe they did not apply a ſpeedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their reſtoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince *, like a fiery courſer, would never be kept in and reſtrained without a very tight rein, and a ſharp curb. Philip, that he might aſſume the air of an accuſer rather than of one accuſed, inveighed heavily againſt thoſe who had harangued on this occaſion, and particularly againſt the Theſſalians. He ſaid, that like † ſlaves, who being made free on a ſudden, contrary to all expectation, break into the moſt injurious exclamations againſt their maſters and benefactors; ſo they abuſed, with the utmoſt inſolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long ſervitude, to make a prudent and moderate uſe of the liberty which had been granted them. The commiſſioners, after hearing the accuſations and anſwers, the circumſtances of which I ſhall omit as little important, and making ſome particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their reſpective demands.

From thence they went to Theſſalonica, to enquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much diſguſted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambaſſadors ſaid to the commiſſioners, that if the Romans were reſolved to reſtore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty,

* Ut equum ſternacem non parentem, frenis aſperioribus caſtigandum eſſe. *Liv.*

† Inſolenter & immodice abuti Theſſalos, indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina ſiti nimis avide meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, ſervorum modo præter ſpem repente manumiſſorum, licentiam vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare ſeſe inſectatione & conviciis dominorum. *Liv.*

berty, their ſovereign was far from having a deſign to oppoſe it; but that, if they did not concern themſelves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that caſe, the ſervice which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome ſeemed to require that they ſhould rather be given up to their maſter than to Philip who had no manner of right to them, but had uſurped them by open force: that, beſides, theſe cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commiſſioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine theſe differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the injuſtice and oppreſſion which Philip's garriſon exerciſed in their city.

Here Philip delivered himſelf in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himſelf perſonally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him juſtice on any occaſion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the ſervices he had done the Romans on different occaſions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their intereſt, ſo far as to refuſe three thouſand * talents, fifty ſhips of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithſtanding this, he had the mortification to ſee Eumenes preferred on all occaſions, with whom it was too great a condeſcenſion to compare himſelf; and that the Romans, ſo far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his ſervices merited, had even diſpoſſeſſed him, as well of thoſe cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of ſuch as they had beſtowed upon him. "You, O Romans, (ſays he, concluding his ſpeech) "are to conſider upon what foot you intend to have "me be with you. If you are determined to treat "me as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in "that caſe, you need only uſe me as you have hitherto done:

* *About* 450,000 *l. ſterling.*

" done: but, if you ſtill revere in my perſon the title " and quality of king, ally, and friend, ſpare me, I " beſeech you, the ſhame of being treated any longer " with ſo much indignity.

The commiſſioners were moved with this ſpeech of the king. For this reaſon, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in ſuſpence, by making no deciſive anſwer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in queſtion had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commiſſioners, as he pretended they were, in that caſe; it was not in their power to reverſe it in any manner: that if Philip had acquired them by right of conqueſt, it was but juſt that he ſhould be ſuffered to continue in poſſeſſion of them: that if neither of theſe things ſhould be proved, then the cognizance of this affair ſhould be left to the judgement of the ſenate; and, in the mean time, the garriſons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretenſions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, proviſionally, to withdraw his garriſons out of the reſpective cities, ſo far from ſatisfying that prince, ſo entirely diſcontented and enraged him, that the conſequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

(*b*) The commiſſioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Ariſtenes, who was the chief magiſtrate, aſſembled immediately all the chiefs of the republick in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wiſdom of their government on all other occaſions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much cenſured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently againſt them on that occaſion. The ſilence of Ariſtenes, who did not reply a ſingle word, ſhowed that he was of the ſame opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in

(*b*) Polyb. in Lex. c. xli. p. 853, 854.

concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better ſkilled in war than politicks, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints againſt him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to ſpeak with the utmoſt vigour in defence of the republick. They ſhowed, that the whole tranſaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that, had it been otherwiſe, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, muſt have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the aſſembly, the members of it, moved with that diſcourſe, came to a reſolution, that nothing ſhould be changed in what had been decreed, and that this anſwer ſhould be made the Roman ambaſſador.

When it was told Cecilius, he deſired that the general aſſembly of the country might be convened. To this the magiſtrates replied, that he muſt firſt produce a letter from the ſenate of Rome, by which the Achæans ſhould be deſired to meet. As Cecilius had no ſuch letter, they told him plainly, that they would not aſſemble; which exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magiſtrates had to ſay. It was believed that this ambaſſador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themſelves with ſo much freedom, had they not been ſure that Ariſtenes and Diophanes were in their intereſt. And, indeed, they were accuſed of having invited thoſe Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly ſuſpected by the populace.

A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. (*i*) Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the ſenate with whatever had been tranſacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambaſſadors of Macedonia and Peloponneſus were brought in. Thoſe of Philip and Eumenes were introduced firſt, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before ſaid in the preſence of Cecilius in Theſſalonica. The ſenate after admitting them to audience,

(*i*) Polyb. in Legat. c. xlii. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 33.

audience, ſent to Philip other ambaſſadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the ſpot whether he was withdrawn (as he had promiſed Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the ſame time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the caſtles, territories, and cities, which he poſſeſſed on the ſea-coaſt of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambaſſador whom the Achæans had ſent, to give the reaſons why they had not made their anſwers to Cecilius; and to inform the ſenate of all that had been tranſacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the firſt exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had reſtored to their country. The circumſtance which moſt exaſperated the Achæans was, to ſee that, notwithſtanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themſelves with the odious commiſſion of accuſing thoſe who had ſaved them ſo unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable bleſſing of returning to their houſes and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impoſſible to ſettle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the reſt of the Achæans had done; and they likewiſe cleared themſelves, for their having refuſed to call a general aſſembly. On the other ſide, Areus and Alcibiades repreſented, in the moſt affecting manner, the ſad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demoliſhed; its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a ſtate of captivity: the ſacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it ſubſiſt during ſo long a ſeries of years, and with ſo much glory, had been entirely aboliſhed.

The ſenate, after weighing and comparing the reaſons on both ſides, ordered the ſame ambaſſadors to

* *By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that ſuch ſlaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, ſhould leave the city and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to ſeiſe and ſell them as ſlaves, which had accordingly been executed.*

enquire into this affair, as were nominated to inſpect thoſe of Macedon; and deſired the Achæans to convene their general aſſembly, whenever the Roman ambaſſadors ſhould require it; as the ſenate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they aſked it.

(*k*) When Philip was informed by his ambaſſadors, who had been ſent back to him from Rome, that he muſt abſolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the higheſt degree of rage, to ſee his dominions contracted on every ſide, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomaſtes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Caſſander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmoſt violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on thoſe who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commiſſioners, being firmly perſuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the ſtrongeſt terms, on that account. The latter reſolutely aſſerted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that maſſacre, but that it was wholly occaſioned by an inſurrection of the populace. "Some," ſays he, "declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, "a great quarrel aroſe, and they butchered one ano-"ther." He went ſo far as to challenge them to produce any perſon, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His puniſhment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. *It is to no purpoſe*, ſays Appius to him, *for you to apologize for yourſelf; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them.* Theſe words gave Philip the greateſt anxiety. However,

(*k*) Polyb. in Legat. c. xliv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

However, matters were not carried farther at this firſt interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to ſend immediately Onomaſtes and Caſſander to Rome to be examined by the ſenate on the affair in queſtion, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himſelf. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himſelf, and heſitated a long time before he made anſwer. At laſt, he declared that he would ſend Caſſander, whom the commiſſioners ſuſpected to be the contriver of the maſſacre: but he was determined not to ſend Onomaſtes, who (he declared) ſo far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reaſon of this conduct was, Philip was afraid leſt Onomaſtes, in whom he repoſed the utmoſt confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, ſhould betray him to the ſenate. As for Caſſander, the inſtant the commiſſioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ſhip; but, at the ſame time, ſent ſome perſons after him, who poiſoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commiſſioners, who were fully perſuaded that Philip had contrived the maſſacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the ſtrong deſire he had to wreak his vengeance on the people, muſt neceſſarily ſoon diſplay itſelf; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war againſt that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip reſolved to ſend his ſon Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years an hoſtage, and having acquired great eſteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him againſt the accuſations with which he might be charged before the ſenate, or apologize for ſuch faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations neceſſary for this embaſſy, and nominated ſeveral friends to attend the prince his ſon on that occaſion.

He, at the ſame time, promiſed to ſuccour the Byzantines; not that he was ſincerely deſirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would ſtrike terrour into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their oppoſing the reſolution he had formed of entering into war againſt the Romans. And accordingly he defeated thoſe petty ſovereigns in a battle, and took priſoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

(*l*) The arrival of the Roman commiſſioners was expected in Peloponneſus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an anſwer might be ready for them, ſummoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He repreſented to the aſſembly, ſuch things as they might fear from them; the Romans ſeeming to favour their intereſt much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been ſo baſe as to undertake the embaſſy againſt them to the ſenate, where they acted and ſpoke like profeſſed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, when it was they who had reſtored them to it. Upon this, great ſhouts were heard in every part of the aſſembly, and the preſident was deſired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a paſſion and a thirſt of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commiſſioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmoſt terrour; for, ſeeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had juſt before condemned to die, arrive with the commiſſioners, they naturally ſuppoſed

(*l*) Liv. xxxix. n. 35—37.

ſuppoſed that the enquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them that the ſenate had been ſtrongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but diſapprove of every thing which had been done on that occaſion: the murther of thoſe who, on the promiſe which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cauſe; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which had ſpread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flouriſh for ſeveral ages.

Lycortas, as preſident of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been tranſacted againſt Lacedæmonia, undertook to anſwer Appius. He ſhowed firſt, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expreſsly forbid them to make any attempt againſt the maritime cities; theſe exiles, in the abſence of the Romans, could have recourſe only to the Achæan league, which could not be juſtly accuſed for having aſſiſted them to the utmoſt of their power, in ſo urgent a neceſſity. That, with regard to the maſſacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accuſed for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulſe, and without being authoriſed in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmoſt fury and violence on thoſe whom they ſuppoſed had been the authors of their baniſhment, and to whom the reſt of the calamities they had ſuffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we cannot but own that "we were the cauſe of the abolition of Lycurgus's "laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. "This, indeed, is a real fact; but then, how can this "double objection be made to us at the ſame time? "The walls in queſtion were not built by Lycurgus, "but by tyrants who erected them ſome few years ago, "not for the ſecurity of the city, but for their own

" ſafety, and to enable themſelves to aboliſh, with im-
" punity, the diſcipline and regulation ſo happily
" eſtabliſhed by that wiſe legiſlator. Were it poſſible
" for him to riſe now from the grave, he would be
" overjoyed to ſee thoſe walls deſtroyed, and ſay, that
" he now knows and owns his native country and an-
" cient Sparta. You ſhould not, O citizens of Sparta,
" have waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans; but
" ought yourſelves to have pulled down thoſe walls
" with your own hands, and deſtroyed even the ſlight-
" eſt trace of tyranny. Theſe were a kind of igno-
" minious ſcars of your ſlavery: and, after having
" maintained your liberties and privileges during al-
" moſt eight hundred years; and been for ſome time
" the ſovereigns of Greece, without the ſupport and
" aſſiſtance of walls; they, within theſe hundred
" years, have become the inſtruments of your ſlavery,
" and, in a manner, your ſhackles and fetters. With
" reſpect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were
" ſuppreſſed by the tyrants; and we have only ſub-
" ſtituted our own, by putting you upon a level with
" us in all things."

Addreſſing himſelf afterwards to Appius, " I can-
" not forbear owning," ſays he, " that the words I
" have hitherto ſpoken, were not as from one ally to
" another; nor of a free nation, but as ſlaves who
" ſpeak to their maſter. For, in fine, if the voice of
" the herald, who proclaimed us to be free in the
" front of the Grecian ſtates, was not a vain and
" empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that
" time be real and ſolid; if you are deſirous of ſin-
" cerely preſerving an alliance and friendſhip with
" us; on what can that infinite diſparity which you
" ſuppoſe to be between you Romans and we Achæ-
" ans be grounded? I do not enquire into the treat-
" ment which Capua met with, after you had taken
" that city: why then do you examine into our
" uſage of the Lacedæmonians, after we had con-
" quered them? Some of them were killed: and I
" will ſuppoſe that it was by us. But did not you
" ſtrike

" ſtrike off the heads of ſeveral Campanian ſenators?
" We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground;
" but as for you, Romans, you not only diſpoſſeſſed
" the Campanians of their walls, but of their city
" and lands. To this I know you will reply, that
" the equality expreſſed in the treaties between the Ro-
" mans and Achæans is merely ſpecious, and a bare
" form of words: that we really have but a preca-
" rious and derivative liberty, but that the Romans
" are poſſeſſed of authority and empire. This, Ap-
" pius, I am but too ſenſible of. However, ſince we
" muſt be forced to ſubmit to this, I intreat you at
" leaſt, how wide a difference ſoever you may ſet be-
" tween yourſelves and us, not to put your ene-
" mies and our own upon a level with us, who are
" your allies; eſpecially, not to ſhow them better
" treatment. They require us, by forſwearing our-
" ſelves, to diſſolve and annul all we have enacted by
" oath; and to revoke that, which by being written
" in our records, and engraved on marble, in order to
" preſerve the remembrance of it eternally, is become
" a ſacred monument, which it is not lawful for us to
" violate. We revere you, O Romans; and if you
" will have it ſo, we alſo fear you; but then we
" think it glorious to have a greater reverence and
" fear for the immortal gods."

The greateſt part of the aſſembly applauded this ſpeech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had ſpoken like a true magiſtrate; it was therefore neceſſary for the Romans to act with vigour, or reſolve to loſe their authority. Appius, without deſcending to particulars, adviſed them, whilſt they ſtill enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders to make a merit, with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at theſe words; but were inſtructed by them, not to perſiſt obſtinately in the refuſal of what ſhould be demanded. All they therefore deſired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleaſed with regard to Sparta; but not

to

to oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themſelves. As to the ſentence that was juſt before paſſed againſt Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

(*m*) The Romans pronounced judgement the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that thoſe perſons who had been condemned by the Achæans ſhould be recalled and reſtored; that all ſentences relating to this affair ſhould be repealed, and that Sparta ſhould continue a member of the Achæan league. (*n*) Pauſanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demoliſhed ſhould be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commiſſary to ſettle the affairs of Macedon, and thoſe of Peloponneſus, where great feuds and diſturbance ſubſiſted, eſpecially between the Achæans on one ſide, and the Meſſenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. (*o*) They all had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the ſenate was in any great haſte to put an end to their differences. The anſwer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themſelves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans againſt the Meſſenians, purſuant to the treaty; or, at leaſt, not to ſuffer arms or proviſions to be tranſported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was anſwered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the ſenate did not think itſelf obliged to enter into thoſe diſputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and diviſions, and even, in ſome meaſure, give a ſanction to them.

In theſe proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended ſolely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whoſe power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious deſigns with the ſpecious pretence of ſuccouring the weak and oppreſſed.

(*m*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48. (*n*) In Achaiac. p. 414. (*o*) Polyb. in Legat. c. li.

SECT.

SECT. X. PHILOPOEMEN *beſieges Meſſene. He is taken priſoner, and put to death by the Meſſenians. Meſſene ſurrendered to the Achæans. The ſplendid funeral proceſſion of* PHILOPOEMEN, *whoſe aſhes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of* PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, *who is ſucceeded by* PHILOMETOR *his ſon.*

(a) DINOCRATES the Meſſenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Meſſene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might beſt ſeiſe upon a conſiderable poſt, called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then ſeventy years of age, and generaliſſimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay ſick. However, the inſtant the news of this was brought him, he ſet out, notwithſtanding his indiſpoſition, made a counter-march, and advanced towards Meſſene with a ſmall body of forces, conſiſting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out againſt him, was ſoon put to flight: but five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Meſſene, happening to come up and re-inforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was ſollicitous of nothing but to ſave the gallant youths who had followed him in this expedition, performed the moſt extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horſe, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken priſoner by the enemy, who carried him to Meſſene. Plutarch conſiders this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the puniſhment for ſome raſh and arrogant words that had eſcaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: *Ought that man*, ſays he, *to be valued, who ſuffers himſelf to be taken alive by the enemy, whilſt he has arms to defend himſelf?*

A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

Upon the arrival of the firſt news which was carried to Meſſene, *viz.* That Philopœmen was taken priſoner,

(a) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in. Philop. p, 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. lii. liii.

priſoner, and on his way to that city, the Meſſenians were in ſuch tranſports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to perſuade themſelves of the truth of what they heard, till they ſaw him themſelves, ſo greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To ſatisfy the violent curioſity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a ſight of him, they were forced to ſhow the illuſtrious priſoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to ſee him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, moſt of the ſpectators were ſo much moved to compaſſion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which reſulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude; "That the "Meſſenians ought to call to mind the great ſervices "done by Philopœmen, and his preſerving the liberty "of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magiſtrates did not ſuffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, leſt the pity of the people ſhould be attended with ill conſequences. They therefore took him away on a ſudden; and, after conſulting together, cauſed him to be conveyed to a place called *the treaſury*. This was a ſubterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was ſhut with a huge ſtone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they impriſoned Philopœmen, and poſted a guard round every part of it.

As ſoon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates cauſed the ſtone to be rolled away, and the executioner to deſcend into the dungeon with a doſe of poiſon to Philopœmen, commanding him not to ſtir till he had ſwallowed it. The moment the illuſtrious Megalopolitan perceived the firſt glimmerings of light, and ſaw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and a ſword in the other, he raiſed himſelf with the utmoſt difficulty (for he was very weak) ſat down, and then taking the cup, he enquired of the executioner, whether he could

tell

tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner anſwering, that he heard almoſt all of them had ſaved themſelves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, *You bring me*, ſays he, *good news; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate:* after which, without breathing the leaſt complaint, he ſwallowed the dreadful doſe, and laid himſelf again on his cloak. The poiſon was very ſpeedy in its effects; for, Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death ſpread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpreſſibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magiſtrates came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being ſummoned, it was unanimouſly reſolved not to delay a moment the revenge of ſo horrid a deed; and, accordingly, having elected on the ſpot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmoſt fury into Meſſene, and filled every part of it with blood and ſlaughter. The Meſſenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themſelves by force of arms, ſent a deputation to the Achæans, to deſire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their paſt faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it adviſeable to treat them as their furious and inſolent revolt ſeemed to deſerve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; to ſubmit all their affairs to the diſpoſal of the Achæans, and to receive a garriſon into their citadel. Theſe conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himſelf, in which he was imitated by all thoſe who had adviſed the putting of Philopœmen to death. Lycortas cauſed thoſe to be delivered up, who had adviſed the inſulting of Philopœmen. Theſe were undoubtedly

undoubtedly the perſons who were ſtoned round his tomb, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

The funeral obſequies of Philopœmen were then ſolemnized. After the body had been conſumed by the flames, his aſhes laid together, and depoſited in an urn, the train ſet out for Megalopolis. This proceſſion did not ſo much reſemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. Firſt came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all ſhedding floods of tears. Then followed the Meſſenian priſoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's ſon, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the nobleſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whoſe arms glittered magnificently, and whoſe horſes were all richly capariſoned, cloſed the march, and did not ſeem too much dejected at this mournful ſcene, nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the proceſſion, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All poſſible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Meſſenian captives were ſtoned round his ſepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpoſe, ordered all the greateſt honours to be paid him, and erected many ſtatues to him with magnificent inſcriptions.

Several † years after, at the time that Corinth was burned and deſtroyed by Mummius the proconſul, a falſe accuſer (a Roman) as I obſerved elſewhere, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get them broke to pieces; proſecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of diſcovering a hatred for them on all occaſions. The cauſe was heard in council before Mummius. The ſlanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were anſwered by Polybius, who refuted them with great ſolidity and eloquence

* *This was Polybius the hiſtorian, who then might be about two-and-twenty.*

† *Thirty-ſeven years.*

eloquence. It is great pity ſo affecting a piece ſhould have been loſt. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be deſtroyed, though he had oppoſed, like a bulwark, the ſucceſſes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, ſays Plutarch, made the juſt and proper diſparity between virtue and intereſt; they diſtinguiſhed the glorious and honeſt from the profitable; and were perſuaded, that worthy perſons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who ſignalized themſelves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers obſerve, that three illuſtrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the ſame year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were, upon a level, with the two moſt celebrated generals of the two moſt powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a ſufficient idea of his character, ſo ſhall only repeat what I before obſerved, that Philopœmen was called the laſt of the Greeks, as Brutus was ſaid to be the laſt of the Romans.

The Meſſenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the moſt deplorable condition, were, by the goodneſs and generoſity of Lycortas and the Achæans, reſtored to the league from which they had withdrawn themſelves. Several other cities, which, from the example they ſet them, had alſo renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a ſeaſonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and exceſſive ſeverity, which breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to deſpair; and ſo far from proving a remedy to evils, only enflames and exaſperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Meſſenians, the ambaſſadors were addreſſed in terms quite different from thoſe which had been uſed to them before. The ſenate

ſenate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to ſuffer either arms or proviſions to be carried from Italy to Meſſene; an anſwer which manifeſtly diſcovers the inſincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their tranſactions with other nations. They ſeemed, at firſt, deſirous of giving the ſignal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had ſought all opportunities to ſerve them.

It is manifeſt on this occaſion, that the Roman ſenate conſented to what had been tranſacted, becauſe it was not in their power to oppoſe it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who poſſeſſed almoſt the whole force of Peloponneſus; that they were very cautious of giving the leaſt umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were diſguſted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in ſome enterpriſe which might have been of ill conſequence to the Romans.

(*b*) I have related Hannibal's death in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great ſervice. Both ſides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occaſion, Eumenes's fleet conſiſted of a much greater number of ſhips than that of Pruſias. But Hannibal oppoſed ſtratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous ſerpents, and filled ſeveral earthen veſſels with them. The inſtant the ſignal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and ſailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only (informing them at the ſame time of a ſign by which they ſhould diſtinguiſh it from the reſt); and to annoy the enemy no otherwiſe than by throwing the earthen veſſels into the reſt of the gallies. At firſt this was only laughed at; the

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. x—xii. Juſtin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

the ſailors not imagining that theſe earthen veſſels could be of the leaſt ſervice: but when the ſerpents were ſeen gliding over every part of the gallies, the ſoldiers and rowers, now ſtudious only of preſerving themſelves from thoſe venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was ſo warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the king made his eſcape. Pruſias, by Hannibal's aſſiſtance, gained ſeveral victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, becauſe the victims had not been propitious; *What* *, ſays Hannibal, *do you rely more upon the liver of a beaſt than upon the counſel of Hannibal?* To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Pruſias to deliver him up, he took a doſe of poiſon, which brought him to his end

(*c*) I before obſerved that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta ſhould be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambaſſadors being returned, and having reported the anſwer which had been received from the ſenate, Lycortas aſſembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta ſhould be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he repreſented that the Romans, to whoſe diſpoſal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: that they had declared to the ambaſſadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans, in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs, were very deſirous of that union, which (he obſerved) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the firſt exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be baniſhed from the city, and other citizens ſubſtituted in their room. But Diophanes A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182.

(*c*) Polyb. in Leg. c. liii.

* An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carunculæ, quàm imperatori veteri mavis credere?——Unius hoſtiæ jecinori longo experimento teſtatam gloriam ſuam poſtponi, æquo animo non tulit. *Val. Max.* l. iii. c. 7.

phanes and ſome other perſons undertook to defend the cauſe of the exiles. However, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, the council decreed, that Sparta ſhould be admitted into the league, and was ſo accordingly. With regard to the firſt exiles, thoſe only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt againſt the Achæan republick.

When the affair was ended, ambaſſadors were ſent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The ſenate, after giving audience to thoſe ſent by Sparta and by the exiles, ſaid nothing to the ambaſſadors, which tended to ſhow that they were diſguſted in any manner at what had paſſed. With reſpect to thoſe who had been lately ſent into baniſhment, the ſenate promiſed to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the ſenate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Meſſenians had been reſtored to their former ſtate: and the ſenators were not only ſatisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. (*d*) The Lacedæmonian exiles were no ſooner returned from Rome into Peloponneſus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the ſenate had ſent by them, and by which they were deſired to permit the exiles to ſettle again in their native country. It was anſwered, that the purport of thoſe letters ſhould be conſidered at the return of the Achæan ambaſſadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the ſenate had written in favour of the exiles, not ſo much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requiſite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. (*e*) Hyperbates, having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice ſhould be taken of the letters which the ſenate

(*d*) Polyb. in Leg. c. liv. (*e*) Ibid. c. lviii.

ſenate had written, concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the exiles who had been baniſhed from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Romans," ſays he, "liſten favourably to ſuch complaints and in-"treaties of unfortunate perſons, as appear to them "juſt and reaſonable, they, in this, act a very juſt "part. But when it is repreſented to them, that "among the favours which are requeſted at their "hands, ſome are not in their power to beſtow, and "others would reflect diſhonour, and be very preju-"dicial to their allies, on theſe occaſions they do not "uſe to perſiſt obſtinately in their opinions, or exact "from ſuch allies an implicit obedience to their com-"mands. This is exactly our caſe at preſent. Let us "inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their or-"ders without infringing the ſacred oaths we have "taken, without violating the laws on which our "league is founded; and then they will undoubtedly "wave their reſolutions, and confeſs, that it is with "the greateſt reaſon we refuſe to obey their com-"mands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be ſacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was reſolved that a deputation ſhould be ſent to the ſenate, in order to repreſent the reaſons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lyſiades, and Aratus, were the ambaſſadors to whom inſtructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When theſe ambaſſadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates, being introduced into the ſenate, acted in direct oppoſition to his inſtructions. He not only had the aſſurance to cenſure thoſe who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the ſenate what they ſhould do. "If the Greeks," ſays he, directing himſelf to the ſenators, "do not obey you; if "they pay no regard either to the letters or orders "which you ſend them, you muſt blame yourſelves

" only for it. In all the ſtates of Greece, there are " now two parties; one of which aſſerts, that all " your orders ought to be obeyed; and that laws and " treaties, in a word, that all things ſhould pay " homage to your will and pleaſure: the other party " pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, and " oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are " for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably " to them. Of theſe two parties, the laſt ſuits beſt " with the genius and character of the Achæans, and " has the greateſt influence over the people. What " is the conſequence of this? Thoſe who comply " with your meaſures are deteſted by the common " people, whilſt ſuch as oppoſe your decrees are ho- " noured and applauded. Whereas, if the ſenate " would ſhow ever ſo little favour to ſuch as eſpouſe " their intereſt cordially, the chief magiſtrates and " officers of all the republicks would declare for the " Romans; and the people, intimidated by this, " would ſoon follow their example. But, whilſt you " ſhow an indifference on this head, all the chiefs will " certainly oppoſe you, as the infallible means of ac- " quiring the love and reſpect of the people. And " accordingly we ſee, that many people, whoſe only " merit conſiſts in their making the ſtrongeſt oppoſi- " tion to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the " defence and preſervation of the laws of their coun- " try, have been raiſed to the moſt exalted employ- " ments in their country. In caſe you do not much " value whether the Greeks are, or are not, at your " devotion, then indeed your preſent conduct ſuits " exactly your ſentiments. But if you would have " them execute your orders, and receive your letters " with reſpect, reflect ſeriouſly on this matter; other- " wiſe be aſſured that they will, on all occaſions, de- " clare againſt your commands. You may judge of " the truth of this from their preſent behaviour to- " wards you. How long is it ſince you commanded " them, by your letters, to recall the Lacedæmonian " exiles? Nevertheleſs, ſo far from recalling them,

" they have publiſhed a quite contrary decree, and " have bound themſelves by oath never to re-inſtate " them. This ought to be a leſſon to you, and ſhow " how cautious you ſhould be for the future."

Callicrates, after making this ſpeech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their buſineſs in few words, but in ſuch as were well adapted to move compaſſion, and then retired.

A ſpeech ſo well calculated to favour the intereſt of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreable to the ſenate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themſelves ſpontaneouſly into the arms of ſlavery; proſtituted the liberty of which their anceſtors had been ſo exceedingly jealous, and paid a ſubmiſſion and homage to the Romans, which they had always refuſed to the *Great King* of Perſia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardleſs of every thing but their intereſt, ſold and ſacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; diſcovered the weak ſide of republicks with regard to their domeſtick affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at laſt cruſhed; and furniſhed themſelves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In conſequence of this ſpeech, it was ſoon concluded, that it would be proper to increaſe the power and credit of thoſe who made it their buſineſs to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble ſuch as ſhould preſume to oppoſe it. Polybius obſerves, that this was the firſt time that the fatal reſolution was taken, to humble and depreſs thoſe who, in their reſpective countries, had the moſt noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all ſuch who, either right or wrong, ſhould declare in favour of the Romans; a reſolution, which ſoon after increaſed the herd of flatterers in all republicks, and very much leſſened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the conſtant maxims of their policy, to oppreſs by all poſſible methods whoever ventured to oppoſe their ambitious projects. This ſingle maxim may ſerve as a

a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republick, and to ſhow us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they ſometimes diſplay, but which does not long ſupport itſelf, and of which a juſt judgement cannot be formed but by the conſequences.

To conclude, the ſenate, in order to get the exiles reſtored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incenſe all Greece againſt the Achæans. And, in their anſwer to the ambaſſadors, they did not make the leaſt mention of any one but Callicrates, whoſe example the ſenate wiſhed the magiſtrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this anſwer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cauſe of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a ſort of equality had been obſerved between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the conſiderable ſervices the Achæans had done them; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the moſt perilous junctures, as in the wars againſt Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league diſtinguiſhed themſelves at that time in a moſt conſpicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and, above all, by the ſhining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treaſon, for we may juſtly beſtow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, ſays Polybius, noble in their ſentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cauſe of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whoſe fidelity they may ſafely depend, ſuggeſts to them the inconveniencies they would bring upon themſelves, ſhould they grant certain

certain favours; they generally return to a juſt way of thinking, and correct, ſo far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiſs. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates ſtudies nothing but how he may beſt work upon their paſſions by flattery. He had been ſent to Rome, to plead the cauſe of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares againſt his ſuperiors; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he ſpread ſo artfully the terrour of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to ſuch a degree, that he got himſelf elected captain-general. He was no ſooner inveſted with this command, but he reſtored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Meſſene to their country.

Polybius, on this occaſion, praiſes exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderneſs with which they liſten to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readineſs to atone for ſuch unjuſt actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauſes he gives them will not admit of great abridgement. The reader muſt call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. We are not to expect from an hiſtorian, who is ſubject and dependent, ſo much veracity as he very poſſibly would have obſerved in a free ſtate, and at a time when men were permitted to ſpeak the truth; and we muſt not blindly believe every circumſtance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and ſpeak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themſelves did not ſcruple to commit injuſtice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpoſe, which procured them the ſame advantage, and ſerved to conceal their unjuſt policy.

(f) Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war againſt Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very ſtrong city of Pontus, of which his A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 182.

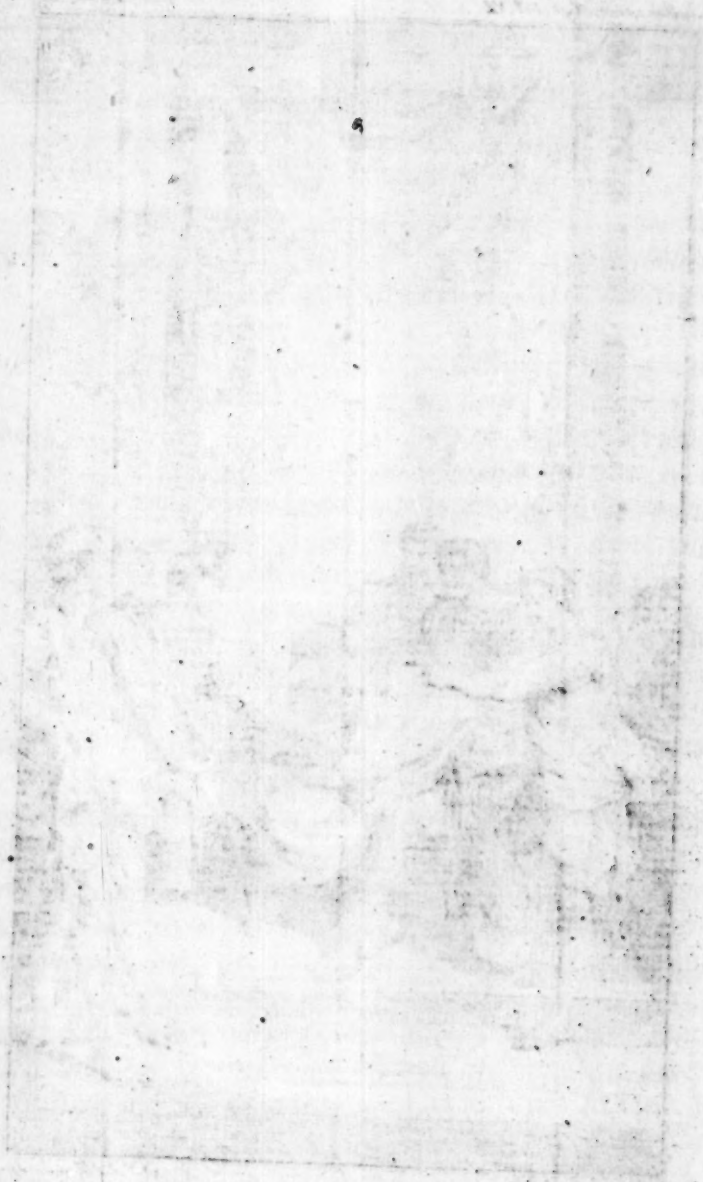
(f) Polyb. in Lag. c. 32—53—55—39.

his ſucceſſors remained poſſeſſors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints againſt this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in intereſt with Eumenes, ſent alſo ambaſſadors thither. The Romans ſeveral times employed their mediation and authority to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was inſincere on theſe occaſions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was oppoſed by the confederate kings. Several enterpriſes enſued; and after ſome years had been ſpent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Never were more embaſſies ſent than at the time we are now ſpeaking of. Ambaſſadors were ſeen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. (*g*) The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt) Lycortas, Polybius his ſon, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the preſents he had already beſtowed on their republick, and the new offers he had made them. However, theſe ambaſſadors did not leave Achæa, becauſe when they were preparing to ſet out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. (*b*) This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, reſolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers aſked, by what methods he would raiſe money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treaſure. The principal courtiers concluded from this anſwer, that, as he conſidered their purſes as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that conſequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their ſovereign, they cauſed him to be poiſoned. This monarch was thus diſpatched in his twenty-ninth

(*g*) Polyb. in Leg. c. lvii. (*b*) Hieron in Daniel.





H.Gravelot inv. et delin. J.P. Le Bas Sculp.

PHILIP King of Macedon hearing his Sons
PERSEUS and DEMETRIUS.

Published Feb.y 1.st 1754, by J. & P. Knapton.

ninth year, after he had ſat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his ſon, who was but ſix years of age, ſucceeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome againſt* PHILIP. DEMETRIUS, *his ſon, who was in that city, is ſent to his father, accompanied by ſome ambaſſadors. A ſecret conſpiracy of* PERSEUS *againſt his brother* DEMETRIUS *with regard to the ſucceſſion to the throne. He accuſes him before* PHILIP. *Speeches of both thoſe princes.* PHILIP, *upon a new impeachment, cauſes* DEMETRIUS *to be put to death; but afterwards diſcovers his innocence and* PERSEUS's *guilt. Whilſt* PHILIP *is meditating to puniſh the latter, he dies, and* PERSEUS *ſucceeds him.*

(a) FROM the ſpreading of a report among the ſtates contiguous to Macedonia, that ſuch as went to Rome to complain againſt Philip were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private perſons, made their complaints in that city againſt a prince who was a very troubleſome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having the injuries redreſſed which they pretended to have received; or, at leaſt, to conſole themſelves in ſome meaſure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the reſt, to whom, by order of the Roman commiſſioners and ſenate, the fortreſſes in Thrace were to be given up, ſent ambaſſadors, at whoſe head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the ſenate, that Philip did not evacuate the garriſons in Thrace as he had promiſed; and to complain of his ſending ſuccours into Bithynia to Pruſias, who was then at war with Eumenes. A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

Demetrius, the ſon of Philip, king of Macedon, was

(a) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been ſent by his father, in order to ſuperintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his buſineſs to anſwer the ſeveral accuſations brought againſt his father: but the ſenate, imagining that this would be a very difficult taſk for ſo young a prince, who was not accuſtomed to ſpeak in publick; to ſpare him that trouble, they ſent certain perſons to him to enquire, whether the king his father had not given him ſome memorials; and contented themſelves with his reading them. Philip therein juſtified himſelf to the beſt of his power, with reſpect to moſt of the articles which were exhibited againſt him; but he eſpecially ſhowed great diſguſt at the decrees which the Roman commiſſioners had enacted againſt him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The ſenate ſaw plainly what all this tended to; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and aſſured them, that every thing ſhould be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the ſenate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wiſely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in ſending his ſon Demetrius to make his excuſes. That, as to paſt tranſactions, the ſenate might diſſemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: that, as to the future, they relied on the promiſe which Demetrius gave: that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hoſtage of his inclinations) his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noiſe, whatever might have been hitherto amiſs: and that as to the reſt, the ſenate was well pleaſed to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his ſon Demetrius for the tenderneſs with which the Romans behaved towards him. Theſe marks of diſtinction which the ſenate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court,

court, only animated envy againſt him, and at length occaſioned his deſtruction.

(*q*) The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambaſſadors, produced different effects, according to the various diſpoſitions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the conſequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleaſed with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they conſidered him as the ſucceſſor to the throne of Macedon, after the demiſe of his father. For though he was the younger ſon, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother, who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perſeus was the ſon of a concubine, and even reputed ſuppoſititious. Beſides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perſeus not having any credit with them. And theſe were the common reports.

On one ſide alſo, Perſeus was greatly uneaſy; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title againſt a brother ſuperior to him in all other reſpects: and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to diſpoſe of the throne as he pleaſed, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the two great authority of his younger ſon. It was alſo a great mortification to him, to ſee riſing, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of ſecond court in the concourſe of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himſelf did not take ſufficient care to prevent or ſooth the growing diſaffection to his perſon. Inſtead of endeavouring to ſuppreſs envy, by gentleneſs, modeſty, and complacency, he only enflamed it, by a certain air of haughtineſs which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himſelf upon the marks of diſtinction, with which he had been honoured in that city; and not

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 53.

not ſcrupling to declare, that the ſenate had granted him many things they had refuſed his father.

Philip's diſcontent was much more inflamed at the arrival of the new ambaſſadors, to whom his ſon made his court more aſſiduouſly than to himſelf; and when he found he ſhould be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garriſons from that country, and to execute other things, either purſuant to the decrees of the firſt commiſſioners, or to the freſh orders he had received from Rome: all theſe orders and decrees he complied with very much againſt his will, and with the higheſt ſecret reſentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not ſufficiently prepared. To remove all ſuſpicion of his harbouring the leaſt deſign that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, againſt people with whom the Romans did not concern themſelves in any manner.

(c) However, his ſchemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commiſſioners, who had communicated the orders of the ſenate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's diſcourſes, and the ſeveral ſteps he took, viſibly threatened an approaching war. To make himſelf the more ſecure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; ſettled them in * the moſt northern part of Macedon, and ſubſtituted in their places Thracians, and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. Theſe changes occaſioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houſes, and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all ſides but imprecations and curſes againſt the king, who was the author of theſe innovations.

A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. But Philip, ſo far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were ſuſpected by

(c) Liv. l. xl. n. 3—5. * *Æmathia, called formerly Pæonia*

by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of perſons, upon ſuſpicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be ſafe, but in ſecuring their children, and he impriſoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all deſtroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itſelf than ſuch a deſign; but the ſad cataſtrophe of one of the moſt powerful and moſt illuſtrious families in Theſſaly, made it ſtill more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus one of the principal perſons of the country, and ſome time after, his two ſons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a ſon, both very young. Theoxena, who was ſought for in marriage by the richeſt and moſt powerful noblemen in Theſſaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial ſtate; but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him ſeveral children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that ſhe might have an opportunity of bringing up her ſiſter's children under her eye, married Poris; took the ſame care of them as ſhe did of her own ſon; and was as tender of them as if ſhe had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murther the children of thoſe who had been put to death; plainly foreſeeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, ſhe formed a ſurpriſing reſolution, declaring that ſhe would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children rather than ſuffer them to fall into the mercileſs power of Philip. Poris, whoſe ſoul was ſtruck with horrour at this deſign, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would ſend all their children to Athens, to ſome friends, on whoſe fidelity and humanity he could ſafely rely, and that he himſelf would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all ſet out from Theſſalonica, in order to ſail to the city of Ænia, to aſſiſt at a ſolemn feſtival, which was ſolemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having

ſpent

ſpent the whole day in feſtivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body elſe was aſleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Theſſalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, and drove them back towards the coaſt. At day-break, the king's officers, who were poſted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately ſent off an armed ſloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the ſevereſt penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was ſeen every moment, either exhorting the ſhip's company in the ſtrongeſt terms, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, reſuming her former reſolution, and preſenting to her children the deadly doſe ſhe had prepared, and the daggers ſhe had brought with her: "Death," ſays ſhe, "only can free you from your miſeries; and here "is what will procure you that laſt, ſad refuge. Se- "cure yourſelves from the king's horrid cruelty by "the method you like beſt. Go (my dear children) "ſuch of you as are more advanced in years, and take "theſe poniards; or, in caſe a ſlower kind of death "may be more grateful, take this poiſon." The enemy were now almoſt in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands, and all, having either ſwallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their boſoms, were thrown into the ſea. Theoxena, after giving her huſband a laſt ſad embrace, leaped into the ſea with him. Philip's officers then ſeiſed the galley, but did not find one perſon alive in it.

The horrour of this tragical event revived and inflamed to a prodigious decree, the hatred againſt Philip. He was publickly deteſted as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both againſt him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, ſays Livy, ſoon

ſoon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance againſt his own children.

(*d*) Perſeus ſaw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increaſed daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to aſcend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by ſounding the diſpoſition of thoſe who were in greateſt favour with the king, and by addreſſing them in obſcure and ambiguous words. At firſt, ſome ſeemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his propoſals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, obſerving that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increaſed ſenſibly; which Perſeus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, oppoſed to the utmoſt, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whoſe youth and inexperience made him not ſufficiently upon his guard againſt the artifices of his brother, would at laſt fall a victim to them; they thought it their intereſt to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the ſtrongeſt party. They accordingly did ſo, and devoted themſelves entirely to Perſeus.

Having poſtponed the execution of their more remote deſigns, they were of opinion that for the preſent it would be proper for them to employ their utmoſt efforts to exaſperate the king againſt the Romans, and to inſpire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the ſame time, to render Demetrius every day more ſuſpected, they induſtriouſly, on all occaſions, made the diſcourſe turn in the king's preſence upon the Romans; ſome expreſſing the utmoſt contempt for their laws and cuſtoms, others for their exploits; ſome for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void

(*d*) Liv. l. xl. n. 5—16.

void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for ſuch of the Romans, as were in higheſt eſtimation; making them all paſs in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the ſcope and tendency of all theſe diſcourſes, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on theſe occaſions. Hence Demetrius (without conſidering the conſequences) grew ſuſpected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accuſations and calumnies preparing againſt him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the deſigns he continually meditated againſt Rome, and unboſomed himſelf only to Perſeus.

The ambaſſadors whom he had ſent to the Baſtarnæ, to deſire aid from them, returned about the time we are now ſpeaking of. Theſe had brought with them ſeveral youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promiſed his ſiſter in marriage to one of Philip's ſons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perſeus taking advantage of this opportunity; "Of what uſe," ſays he, "can all this be to us? We "have not ſo much to hope from foreign aids, as to "dread from domeſtick foes. We harbour in our "boſoms, I will not ſay a traitor, but at leaſt a ſpy. "The Romans, ever ſince he was an hoſtage among "them, have reſtored us his body; but as to his heart "and inclinations, thoſe he has left with them. Almoſt "all the Macedonians fix already their eyes on him; "and are perſuaded, that they ſhall never have any "king, but him whom the Romans ſhall pleaſe to "ſet over them." By ſuch ſpeeches, the old king's diſguſt was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a feſtival ſolemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow. * A bitch, ſays Livy,

* *We find, in ſcripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties paſs through the parts of the victim divided.* Jer. xxxiv. 18.

Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, longways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each ſide of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the ſhining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the moſt remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterward, followed by all the royal houſehold, and the companies of guards. The march is cloſed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the preſent occaſion, the two princes walked on each ſide of the king; Perſeus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age: ſons who might have formed their father's happineſs, had his mind been rightly diſpoſed and reaſonable.

The cuſtom was, after the ſacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but ſiles, and repreſented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock-battle; all the men exerting themſelves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been diſputing for the throne: Several were wounded on both ſides, and nothing but ſwords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the ſuperiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perſeus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accuſation againſt his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the ſoldiers of their reſpective parties. Perſeus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refuſed to come. The joy was very great on both ſides, and the gueſts drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much diſcourſe paſſed about the

battle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical flings (some of which were very sharp) against those of the contrary party; without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet: but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company: "Let us go and con-"clude our feast at my brother's, to soften his pain "(if he has any remaining) by an agreeable surprise, "which will show that we act with frankness and sin-"cerity; and do not harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried that they would go, those excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man, running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had abused his spy: Nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment which looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with design to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table; still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprised

at

at his ſilence, aſked what could be the cauſe of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is "the greateſt happineſs for me," anſwers Perſeus, "and by the mereſt good fortune in the world, that "you ſee me here alive. My brother now no longer "lays ſecret ſnares for me; he came in the night to "my houſe, at the head of a body of armed men, "purpoſely to aſſaſſinate me. I had no other way left "to ſecure myſelf from his fury, but by ſhutting my "doors, and keeping the wall between him and me." Perſeus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and dread: "If you "will condeſcend," ſays he, "to liſten a moment to "me, you ſhall be fully acquainted with the whole "ſtate of the affair." Philip anſwered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be ſent for. At the ſame time, he ſent for Lyſimachus and Onomaſtes, to aſk their advice on this occaſion. Theſe two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themſelves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very ſeldom at court. Philip, whilſt he waited for their coming, walked ſeveral times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his ſon Perſeus ſtanding all the time at a diſtance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of his ſons to bring three perſons, unarmed, along with him: And having taken his ſeat, he ſpoke to them as follows,

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to ſit as "judge between my two ſons, one the accuſer, and "the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide; "reduced to the ſad neceſſity of finding, in one of "them, either a criminal or a falſe accuſer. From "certain rumours, which long ſince reached my ears, "and an unuſual behaviour I obſerve between you (a "behaviour no way ſuiting brothers) I indeed was

" afraid this ſtorm would break over my head. And " yet I hoped, from time to time, that your diſcon- " tents and diſguſts would ſoften, and your ſuſpicions " vaniſh away. I recollected, that contending kings " and princes, laying down their arms, had frequent- " ly contracted alliances and friendſhips; and that pri- " vate men had ſuppreſſed their animoſities. I flat- " tered myſelf, that you would one day remember the " endearing name of brethren by which you are uni- " ted; thoſe tender years of infancy which you ſpent " in ſimplicity and union; in fine, the counſels ſo " often repeated by a father; counſels, which, alas! I " am afraid have been given to children deaf and in- " docile to my voice. How many times, after ſetting " before you examples of the diſcord between bro- " thers, have I repreſented its fatal conſequences, by " ſhowing you, that they had thereby involved them- " ſelves in inevitable ruin; and not only themſelves, " but their children, families, and kingdoms? On " the other ſide, I propoſed good examples for your " imitation: The ſtrict union between the two kngs " of Lacedæmonia, ſo advantageous during ſeveral " centuries, to themſelves and their country; in oppo- " ſition to diviſion and private intereſt that changed " the monarchick government into tyranny, and proved " the deſtruction of Sparta. By what other method, " than by fraternal concord, did the two brothers, " Eumenes and Attalus, from ſuch weak beginnings " as almoſt reflected diſhonour on the regal dignity, " riſe to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of " Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of? I " even did not ſcruple to cite examples from the Ro- " mans, of which I myſelf had either been an eye- " witneſs, or heard from others: As the two brothers, " Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were engaged " in war with me: The two Scipios, Publius and " Lucius, who defeated and ſubjected Antiochus; " their father and their uncle, who having been inſe- " parable during their lives, were undivided in death. " Neither the crimes of the one, though attended

" with

" with ſuch fatal conſequences; nor the virtues of " the other, though crowned with ſuch happy ſuc- " ceſs, have been able to make you abhor diviſion and " diſcord, and to inſpire you with gentle and pacifick " ſentiments. Both of you, in my life-time, have " turned your eyes and guilty deſires upon my throne. " You will not ſuffer me to live, till ſurviving one of " you, I ſecure my crown to the other by my death. " The fond names of father and brother are inſup- " portable to both. Your ſouls are ſtrangers to ten- " derneſs and love. A reſtleſs deſire of reigning has " baniſhed all other ſentiments from your breaſts, and " entirely engroſſes you. But come, let me hear " what each of you have to ſay. Pollute the ears of " your parent with real or feigned accuſations. Open " your criminal mouths; vent all your reciprocal " ſlanders, and afterwards arm your parricide hands " one againſt the other. I am ready to hear all you " have to ſay; firmly determined to ſhut my ears " eternally from henceforth againſt the ſecret whiſpers " and accuſations of brother againſt brother." Philip having ſpoken theſe laſt words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were preſent wept, and continued a long time in a mournful ſilence.

At laſt, Perſeus ſpoke as follows: " I perceive " plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in " the dead of night; to have admitted the aſſaſſins " into my houſe, and preſented my throat to their " murtherous ſwords, ſince guilt is never believed, " till it has been perpetrated; and ſince I, who was " ſo inhumanly attacked, receive the ſame injurious " reproaches as the aggreſſor. People have but too " much reaſon to ſay, that you conſider Demetrius " only as your true ſon; whilſt unhappy I am looked " upon as a ſtranger, ſprung from a concubine, or " even an impoſtor. For, did your breaſt glow with " the tenderneſs which a father ought to have for his " child, you would not think it juſt to inveigh ſo " bitterly againſt me (for whoſe life ſo many ſnares " have been laid) but againſt him who contrived

" them; and you would not think my life ſo inconſi-
" derable, as to be entirely unmoved at the immi-
" nent danger I eſcaped; nor to that to which I ſhall
" be expoſed, ſhould the guilt of my enemies be ſuf-
" fered to go unpuniſhed. If I muſt die without be-
" ing ſuffered to breathe my complaints, be it ſo;
" let me leave the world in ſilence, and be contented
" with beſeeching the gods in my expiring moments,
" that the crime which was begun in my perſon, may
" end in it, and not extend to your ſacred life. But
" if (what nature inſpires in thoſe, who ſeeing them-
" ſelves attacked unawares in ſolitude, implore the
" aſſiſtance even of ſtrangers to them) I may be al-
" lowed to do with regard to you on the preſent oc-
" caſion: If, when I ſee ſwords drawn round me, in
" order to pierce my heart, I may be permitted to
" vent forth a plaintive and ſupplicating voice; I con-
" jure you by the tender, the dear name of father,
" (for which, whether my brother or I have had the
" greateſt reverence, you yourſelf have long known)
" to liſten to me at this time, as if, awaked ſuddenly
" from your ſleep by the tumult of what paſſed laſt
" night, chance had brought you at the inſtant of my
" danger, and in the midſt of my complaints; and
" that you had found Demetrius at my door, attended
" by perſons in arms. What I ſhould have told you
" yeſterday, in the greateſt emotion, and ſeiſed with
" fear, I ſay to you now.

" Brother, it is long ſince we have not behaved to-
" wards one another, like perſons deſirous of ſharing
" in parties of pleaſure. You are fired with an inſa-
" tiable thirſt of reigning, but you find an invincible
" obſtacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient
" cuſtoms of Macedonia; and, a ſtill ſtronger cir-
" cumſtance, my father's will and pleaſure. It will
" be impoſſible for you ever to force theſe barriers,
" and to aſcend the throne, but by imbruing your
" hands in my blood. To compaſs your horrid ends,
" you employ inſtruments of all kinds, and ſet every
" engine at work. Hitherto, my vigilance, or my

" good

" good fortune, have preſerved me from your bloody
" hands. Yeſterday, at the review, and the cere-
" mony of the tournament which followed it, the
" battle, by your contrivance, became almoſt bloody
" and fatal; and, had I not ſuffered myſelf and my
" followers to be defeated, you would have ſent me
" to the grave. From this fight, indeed of enemies,
" you inſidiouſly wanted (as if what had paſſed had
" been only the diverſion of brothers) to allure me
" to your feaſt. Can you ſuppoſe (royal father) that
" I ſhould have met with unarmed gueſts there, as
" thoſe very gueſts came to my palace, completely
" armed, at ſo late an hour? Can you imagine that,
" favoured by the gloom, they would not have ſtrove
" to plunge their daggers in my heart; as the ſame
" perſons, in open day, and before your eyes, almoſt
" killed me with their wooden weapons? How!
" You, who are my profeſſed enemy; you, who are
" conſcious that I have ſo much reaſon to complain
" of your conduct; you (I ſay) come to me in the
" night, at an unſeaſonable hour, and at the head of
" a company of armed young men? I did not think
" it ſafe for me to go to your entertainment; and
" ſhould I receive you in my houſe at a time when,
" heated with the fumes of wine, you came ſo well
" attended? Had I then opened my door (royal ſir)
" you would be preparing to ſolemnize my funeral,
" at this very inſtant in which you vouchſafe to hear
" my complaints. I do not advance any thing du-
" bious, nor ſpeak barely from conjecture. For can
" Demetrius deny but that he came to my houſe, at-
" tended by a band of young people, and that ſome
" of them were armed; I only deſire to have thoſe
" whom I ſhall name ſent for. I believe them capa-
" ble of any thing; but yet they cannot have the aſ-
" ſurance to deny the fact. Had I brought them
" before you, after ſeiſing them armed in my houſe,
" you would be fully convinced of their guilt: and
" ſurely their own confeſſion ought to be a no leſs
" proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curſes upon im-
" pious ſons who aſpire to your throne: this (auguſt
" ſir) you have great reaſon to do: but then I beſeech
" you not to vent your imprecations blindly, and at
" random. Diſtinguiſh between the innocent and
" the guilty. Let him who meditated the barbarous
" deſign of murthering his brother, feel the dire effects
" of the anger of the gods, the avengers of paternal
" authority: but then let him, who, by his brother's
" guilt, was brought to the brink of deſtruction, find
" a ſecure aſylum in his father's tenderneſs and juſtice.
" For where elſe can I expect to find one: I, to whom
" neither the ceremony of the review, the ſolemnity
" of the tournament, my own houſe, the feſtival, nor
" the hours of night allotted by the gods to the re-
" poſe of man, could afford the leaſt ſecurity? If I go
" to the entertainment to which my brother invites
" me, I am a dead man; and it will be equally fatal
" to me, if I admit him into my houſe, when he
" comes thither at midnight. Snares are laid for me
" wherever I tread. Death lies in ambuſh for me
" wherever I move; to what place then can I fly for
" ſecurity?

" I have devoted myſelf only to the gods, and to
" you, my royal father. I never made my court to
" the Romans, and cannot have recourſe to them.
" There is nothing they more earneſtly wiſh than
" my ruin, becauſe I am ſo much affected with their
" injuſtice to you; becauſe I am tortured to the ſoul,
" and fired with indignation, to ſee you diſpoſſeſſed
" of ſo many cities and dominions; and, lately, of
" the maratime coaſts of Thrace. They cannot flat-
" ter themſelves with the hopes of ever making them-
" ſelves maſters of Macedonia as long as you or I am
" in being. They are ſenſible, that, ſhould I die by
" my brother's guilt, or age bring you to the grave;
" or they not wait the due courſe of nature; that
" then the king and kingdom will be at their diſ-
" poſal.

" Had

" Had the Romans left you the poſſeſſion of ſome " city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, " I poſſibly might have had ſome opportunity of re- " tiring to it. But, will it be anſwered, ſhall I find " a ſufficient powerful protection in the Macedo- " nians? You yourſelf, royal father, ſaw, with what " animoſity and virulence the ſoldiers attacked me in " the battle. What was wanting, for my deſtruction, " but ſwords of ſteel? However, the arms they " wanted, my brother's gueſts aſſumed in the night. " What ſhall I ſay of a great part of the principal " perſons of your court, who ground all their hopes " on the Romans, and on him who is all-powerful " with them? They are not aſhamed to prefer him " not only to me, who am his elder brother; but, I " might almoſt ſay it, to you, who are our king and " father. For they pretend it is to him you are " obliged for the ſenate's remitting you ſome of thoſe " things which they otherwiſe would have required: " It is he who now checks the Romans, and prevents " their advancing, in an hoſtile manner, into your " kingdom: In fine, if they may be believed, your " old age has no other refuge, but the protection " which your young ſon procures you. On his ſide " are the Romans, on all the cities which have been " diſmembered from your dominions, as well as all " ſuch Macedonians, whoſe dependence, with regard " to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. But with " reſpect to myſelf, I look upon it as glorious to have " no other protector but my royal father, and to place " all my hopes in him alone.

" What do you judge to be the aim and deſign of " the letter you lately received from Quintius, in " which he declares expreſsly, that you acted pru- " dently for your intereſt, in ſending Demetrius to " Rome; and, wherein he exhorts you to ſend him " back thither, accompanied by other ambaſſadors, " and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? " Quintius is now every thing with Demetrius. He " has no other guide but his counſels, or rather his

" orders.

" orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father, he " ſeems to have ſubſtituted him in your place. It is " in the city of Rome, and in his ſight he formed the " ſecret and clandeſtine deſigns which will ſoon break " out into action. It is merely to have the better op- " portunity of putting them in execution, that " Quintius orders you to ſend along with Demetrius " a greater number of the Macedonian nobility. They " ſet out from this country with the moſt ſincere at- " tachment to your perſon and intereſt: but, won by " the gracious treatment they meet with in that city, " they return from it entirely corrupted and debauched " by different ſentiments. Demetrius is all in all with " them: they even preſume, in your life-time, to " give him the title of king. If I appear ſhocked at " this conduct, I have the grief to ſee, not only others, " but yourſelf (my royal father) charge me with the " horrid deſign of aſpiring to your throne. Should " this accuſation be levelled at us both, I am conſci- " ous of my own innocence, and it cannot in any " manner affect me. For, who, in that caſe, ſhould " I diſpoſſeſs, to ſeiſe upon what would be another's " right? there is no one but my father between me " and the throne, and I beſeech the gods that he may " long continue ſo. In caſe I ſhould happen to ſur- " vive him (and this I would not wiſh, but ſo long as " he ſhould deſire it) I ſhall ſucceed him in the king- " dom, if it be his good pleaſure. HE may be ac- " cuſed of aſpiring to the throne, and of aſpiring in the " moſt unjuſt and criminal manner, who is impatient " to break the order and bounds preſcribed by age, " by nature, by the uſages and cuſtoms of Macedonia, " and by the law of nations. My elder brother (ſays " Demetrius to himſelf) to whom the kingdom be- " longs both by the right of ſeniority, and my father's " will, is an obſtacle to my ambitious views.——— " What then muſt be done?——I muſt diſpatch " him.—— I ſhall not be the firſt who has waded " through a brother's blood to the throne. My fa- " ther in years, and without ſupport, will be too " much

" much afraid for his own life to meditate revenge for " his ſon's death. The Romans will be greatly pleaſed " to ſee me on the throne; they will approve my con- " duct, and be able to ſupport me——I own (moſt " gracious father) theſe projects may all be defeated, " but I am ſure they are not without foundation. In " a word, I reduce all to this: It is in your power to " ſecure my life, by bringing to condign puniſhment, " thoſe who yeſterday armed to aſſaſſinate me: but, " ſhould their guilt take effect, it will not be in your " power to revenge my death."

As ſoon as Perſeus had ended his ſpeech, all the company caſt their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to anſwer immediately. But that young prince, being quite oppreſſed with ſorrow, ſhedding floods of tears, and ſeeming unable to ſpeak, a long ſilence enſued. At laſt, being preſſed to anſwer, he made his grief give way to neceſſity, and ſpoke as follows:

" Perſeus (royal ſir) by accuſing me in your pre- " ſence, and by ſhedding fictitious tears to move you " to compaſſion, has made you ſuſpect mine, which, " alas! are but too ſincere; and by that means de- " prived me of all the advantages the accuſed gene- " rally have. Ever ſince my return from Rome, he " has been day and night laying ſnares for me, in ſe- " cret cabals with his creatures; and yet he repre- " ſents me to you, not only as laying hidden ambuſ- " cades to deſtroy him, but attacking him by open " force, and perſons in arms. He endeavours to " alarm you by the pretended dangers which ſurround " him, in hopes that you will put to death his inno- " cent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, " no aſylum left, with deſign to prevent my finding " one in your clemency and juſtice. In the ſolitary " and abandoned ſtate to which I ſee myſelf reduced, " quite friendleſs and unprotected, he ſtrives to make " me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign credit " and ſupport, which are rather a prejudice than a " ſervice to me.

" Obſerve,

" Obſerve, I beſeech you, with what inſidious art " he has blended and confounded the tranſactions of " laſt night with every other circumſtance of my life: " and this in a double view, firſt to raiſe a ſuſpicion " in you of my conduct in general from this laſt ac- " tion, the innocence of which will ſoon be evident; " and ſecondly, to ſupport, by this idle ſtory of a noc- " turnal attack, his equally idle accuſation, of my har- " bouring criminal views, hopes, and pretenſions. At " the ſame time he has endeavoured to ſhow, that " this accuſation was not premeditated or prepared; " but that it was wholly the effect of the fear with " which he was ſeiſed, occaſioned by laſt night's tu- " mult. But, Perſeus, if I had attempted to betray " my father and his kingdom; had I engaged in con- " ſpiracies with the Romans, and with the enemies " of the ſtate, you ought not to have waited for the " opportunity of the fictitious ſtory of laſt night's " tranſaction, but ſhould have impeached me before " this time of ſuch treaſon. If the charge of treaſon, " when ſeparated from the other, was altogether im- " probable, and could ſerve to no other purpoſe but " to prove how much you envy me, and not to evi- " dence my guilt; you ought not to have mentioned " it now, but ſhould have poſtponed that charge to " another time; and have examined now this queſtion " only, whether you laid ſnares for me, or I for you. " I nevertheleſs will endeavour, as far as the confu- " ſion into which this ſudden and unforeſeen accuſa- " tion has thrown me will permit, to ſeparate and " diſtinguiſh what you have thrown together indiſcri- " minately; and to ſhow whether you or myſelf ought " in juſtice to be accuſed of dealing treacherouſly laſt " night.

" Perſeus aſſerts, that I harboured a deſign to aſ- " ſaſſinate him, in order that, by the death of my el- " der brother, to whom the crown appertains by the " right of nations, by the cuſtoms of Macedonia, and " even, as he pretends, by your determination; I, " though the younger ſon, might ſucceed to the

" throne.

" throne. To what purpoſe therefore is that other
" part of his ſpeech, where he declares, that I have
" been particularly ſtudious to ingratiate myſelf with
" the Romans, and flattered myſelf with the hopes of
" being able to aſcend the throne by their aſſiſtance?
" For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough
" to beſtow the kingdom of Macedon on whomſoever
" they pleaſed; and if I relied ſo much on my credit
" and authority with them, why ſhould I commit a
" fratricide of no advantage to myſelf? What! ſhould
" I have affected to ſurround my temples with a dia-
" dem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely that I
" might become odious and execrable, even to thoſe
" with whom I had acquired ſome authority (admit-
" ting I have ſome credit with them) by a probity
" either real or diſſembled? Unleſs you can ſuppoſe
" that Quintius, whoſe counſel I am accuſed of fol-
" lowing (he, I ſay, who lives in ſo delightful an union
" with his brother) ſuggeſted to me the horrid deſign
" of embruing my hands in my brother's blood.
" Perſeus has ſummoned up all the advantages, by which
" (as he would inſinuate) I can promiſe myſelf a ſu-
" periority over him, ſuch as the credit of the Ro-
" mans, the ſuffrages of the Macedonians, and the
" almoſt univerſal conſent of gods and men; and yet
" he, at the ſame time (as if I was inferior to him
" in all reſpects) charges me with having recourſe to
" an expedient which none but the blackeſt villains
" could employ. Will you, gracious ſir, have us
" judged upon this principle and rule, that whichſo-
" ever of us two was apprehenſive that the other
" would be judged more worthy of the diadem, ſhall
" be declared to have formed the deſign of murthering
" his brother?

" But let us come to facts, and examine the order
" and plan of the criminal enterpriſe with which I
" am charged. Perſeus pretends to have been attack-
" ed in different manners, all which are however in-
" cluded within the ſpace of one day. I attempted
" (as he ſays) to murther him in broad day-light, in

" the battle which followed the ſacred ceremony of " the review. I had determined to poiſon him at an " entertainment to which I had invited him; in fine, " I reſolved to attack him with open force, in the " dead of night, attended by armed perſons to a party " of pleaſure at his houſe.

" You ſee, ſir, the ſeaſon I had choſen to commit " this fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party " of pleaſure. How venerable and ſolemn was this " day! A day on which the army is reviewed, on " which the reſplendent arms of all the Macedonian " monarchs are carried in the front of the proceſſion; " on which it paſſes through the two parts of the ſa- " cred victim; and on which we have the honour to " march with you, at the head of the whole Macedo- " nian people. What! though purified, by this au- " guſt ſacrifice, from all faults I might before have " committed; having before my eyes the ſacred vic- " tim through which we paſſed, was my mind intent " upon fratricides, poiſons, and daggers! Defiled in " ſuch a manner by crimes of the moſt horrid nature, " by what ceremonies, by what victims, would it have " been poſſible for me to purify myſelf?

" It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a " blind paſſion to calumniate and deſtroy me, in his " endeavour to make every thing ſuſpected, and a " crime in me, betrays and contradicts himſelf. For " (brother) had I formed the abominable deſign of " poiſoning you at my table, what could be more ill " judged than to exaſperate you, and to put you upon " your guard by an obſtinate battle, in which I ſhould " have diſcovered that I had deſigns of violence againſt " you; and by that means, have prevented your " coming to an entertainment to which I had invited " you, and at which you accordingly refuſed to be " preſent? But ſurely, after ſuch a refuſal, ſhould I " not have endeavoured to reconcile myſelf to you; " and, as I had reſolved to take you off by poiſon, " ought I not to have ſought another opportunity for " giving you the fatal draught? Was it natural for

" me

" me to change ſuddenly (in one day) my barbarous
" deſign, and to attempt to aſſaſſinate you, upon pre-
" tence of going to your houſe on a party of plea-
" ſure? Could I reaſonably flatter myſelf with the
" hopes (taking it for granted that the fear of your
" being murthered had made you refuſe to come to
" my entertainment) that the ſame fear would not
" induce you to refuſe me admittance into your houſe?

" I preſume, ſir, I may confeſs to you without
" bluſhing, that in a day of feſtivity and rejoicing,
" happening to be in company with ſome people of
" the ſame age with myſelf, I drank more plentifully
" than uſual. Enquire, I beſeech you, how we ſpent
" our time at the feaſt, how full of mirth we were,
" how tranſported with thoughtleſs gaiety, very much
" heightened by our, perhaps, too indiſcreet joy, for
" the victory we had gained in the tournament. It is
" the ſad condition of an unforeſeen accuſation; it is
" the danger in which I now ſee myſelf involved,
" that have diſpelled but too eaſily the fumes of wine;
" otherwiſe, a calm aſſaſſin, my eyes had ſtill been
" cloſed in ſlumbers. Had I formed a reſolution to
" attack your houſe with the view of murthering you,
" would it not have been poſſible for me to abſtain,
" for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to
" keep my companions from the like exceſs?

" But, that it may not be thought that I, only, act
" with frankneſs and ſimplicity, let us hear my bro-
" ther, whoſe conduct is ſincere and undiſguiſed, and
" who does not harbour the leaſt ſuſpicion. All, ſays
" he, that I know, and the only thing I have to com-
" plain of, is, that they came armed to my houſe,
" upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleaſure.
" Should I aſk you how you came to know this, you
" will be forced to own, either that my houſe was
" filled with ſpies ſent by you, or elſe that my atten-
" dants had taken up arms in ſo open a manner, that
" every one knew of it. What does my brother do?
" That he may not ſeem to have formerly watched
" all my motions; nor, at this time, to ground his

" accuſation

" accuſation merely on ſuppoſitions, he beſeeches you " to enquire of thoſe whom he ſhall name, whether " people did not come armed to his houſe; in order " that (as if this were a doubtful circumſtance) af- " ter this enquiry into an incident which they them- " ſelves own and confeſs, they may be conſidered as " legally convicted. But is this the queſtion? Why " do not you deſire an enquiry to be made whether " they took up arms to aſſaſſinate you, and if they " did it with my knowledge, and at my requeſt? For " it is this you pretend; and not what they them- " ſelves own publickly, and which is very manifeſt, " that they took up arms in no other view but to de- " fend themſelves. Whether they had or had not " reaſon to arm themſelves, that they are to inform " you. Do not blend and confound my cauſe with " theirs, for they are quite diſtinct and ſeparate. " Only tell us, whether we really intended to attack " you openly or by ſurpriſe. If openly, why did " we not all take up arms? Why were thoſe only " armed who had inſulted your ſpy? In caſe it was to " have been by ſurpriſe, in what manner would the " attack have been made? Would it have been at the " end of the feaſt in your houſe, and after I had left " it with my company, would the four men in queſ- " tion have ſtaid behind, to have fallen upon you " when aſleep, How would it have been poſſible for " them, as they were ſtrangers, in my ſervice, to con- " ceal themſelves in your houſe; and as they could " not but be very much ſuſpected, having been ſeen " but a few hours before engaged in the quarrel? " Again, ſuppoſing they had found an opportunity to " murther you, in what manner could they have " eſcaped? Could four men armed, have been able " to make themſelves maſters of your houſe?

" But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come " to what really pains you, and which you have ſo " much at heart: For what reaſon (methinks I hear " my brother ſay) wherefore (O Demetrius) do the " people talk of making you king? Why do ſome

" perſons

" perſons think you more worthy than I, of ſucceed-
" ing our father? Why do you make my hopes doubt-
" ful and uncertain, which, were it not for you, would
" have been eſtabliſhed on the moſt ſolid founda-
" tion?——Such are the reflexions which Perſeus
" revolves in his mind, though he does not expreſs
" himſelf in this manner: It is this raiſes his enmity
" againſt me, and prompts him to charge me with
" ſuch horrid attempts: it is this fills the palace, and
" every part of the kingdom, with ſuſpicions and ac-
" cuſations. If it does not become me, ſir, ſo much
" as to hope the ſceptre, nor perhaps ever to think of
" conteſting it, becauſe it is your will and pleaſure that
" I ſhould yield to my elder brother; it does not fol-
" low that I ought to make myſelf appear unworthy
" of it, either to * you (my royal father) or to all the
" Macedonians; a circumſtance which nothing but my
" ill conduct could occaſion. I can, indeed, through
" moderation, reſign it to whom it belongs; but I
" cannot prevail with myſelf to renounce my virtue
" and good name.

" You reproach me with the affection of the Ro-
" mans, and impute that to me for a crime, which
" ought to be my glory. I did not deſire to be ſent
" to Rome, neither as an hoſtage at firſt, nor after-
" wards as ambaſſador: this, ſir, you yourſelf very
" well know. When you ordered me to go thither,
" I obeyed your commands; and I believe my con-
" duct and behaviour were ſuch, as cannot reflect the
" leaſt diſhonour either on yourſelf, your crown, or
" the Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourſelf,
" ſir, who occaſioned the friendſhip I have contracted
" with the Romans. So long as you ſhall be at peace
" with them, ſo long our friendſhip will ſubſiſt: but
" the moment the trumpet ſounds for war, though I
" have been an hoſtage among them, and exerciſed
" the functions of an ambaſſador in ſuch a manner, as,
" perhaps, has not been diſadvantageous to my father;

* *Inſtead of* indignus te patre, *Gronovius reads,* indignus tibi patre; *which ſeems to agree better with the context.*

" from that moment, I ſay, I ſhall declare myſelf " their enemy. I do not deſire to reap any benefit on " the preſent occaſion, from the love which the Ro- " mans have for me; all I intreat is, that it may not " be of prejudice to me. It was not begun in war, " nor is it deſigned to ſubſiſt in it. As an hoſtage " and an ambaſſador, peace was my only object; let " that be neither conſidered in me as a crime or a " merit.

" If I have violated, in any manner, the reſpect I " owe you, ſir; if I have formed any criminal enter- " priſe againſt my brother, let me be puniſhed as I " deſerve: but if I am innocent, this I claim; that " as I cannot be convicted of the leaſt guilt, I may " not fall a victim to envy. This is not the firſt time " that my brother has charged me with harbouring " horrid deſigns; but it is the firſt time he has at- " tempted to do it openly, though without the leaſt " foundation. Was my father exaſperated againſt " me, it would be your duty, as the elder, kindly to " intercede for your younger brother; to ſollicit his " pardon, to intreat that ſome regard might be ſhown " to his youth; and that a fault, which had been " committed merely through inadvertency, might be " overlooked. My ruin comes from that very quar- " ter, whence I might naturally have expected my " ſafety.

" Though not quite awake, after the feaſt and " party of pleaſure, I am dragged hither on a ſudden, " to anſwer a charge of fratricide; and am forced " to plead my own cauſe, unaſſiſted by counſellors, " and unſupported by the advice or credit of a ſingle " perſon. Had I been to ſpeak in favour of another, " I ſhould have taken time to prepare and compoſe " my diſcourſe; and yet, on ſuch an occaſion, my " reputation only would have laid at ſtake, and I " ſhould have had nothing to do but to diſplay my " wit and eloquence.——At this inſtant, without " knowing the cauſe for which I am ordered to ap- " pear in this place, I hear an offended father, com-

" manding

" manding me to make my defence; and a brother,
" charging me with the moſt horrid crimes. Perſeus
" has had all the time he could deſire to prepare his
" accuſation, whilſt unhappy I did not ſo much as
" know what the buſineſs was, till the very inſtant
" the accuſation was brought againſt me. In this
" rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my
" accuſer, than ſtudious of my own apology? Sur-
" priſed by a ſudden and unforeſeen accuſation, I
" could ſcarce comprehend what was laid to my
" charge, ſo far from being able to know how to
" make a defence. What hopes, what refuge could
" I have left, did I not know that it is my royal
" father who is to judge? He may ſhow a greater af-
" fection for my brother, as the elder; but he owes
" more compaſſion to me, as being the party accuſed:
" I myſelf conjure you to preſerve my life for your
" own ſake and mine; whereas Perſeus inſiſts upon
" your ſacrificing me to his ſafety. What may you
" not naturally expect from him, when you ſhall once
" have inveſted him with your authority, as he now
" demands your favour in preference to me, at no leſs
" a price than my blood?"

Whilſt Demetrius defended himſelf in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep ſighs and groans, intermixed with tears. Philip, diſmiſſing both of them for a moment, adviſed with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: " I will not pronounce ſentence on this affair, from " mere words and a few tranſient ſpeeches, but from " the enquiry I ſhall make into your conduct; from " your behaviour in ſmall as well as great things, and " from your words as well as actions." This judgement ſhowed plainly enough, That although Demetrius had cleared himſelf with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip however ſuſpected him from his union with the Romans. Theſe were in a manner the firſt ſparks of the war, that appeared in Philip's life-time, and which were to break into a flame under Perſeus his ſucceſſor.

A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. (a) The king, ſome time after, ſent Philocles and Apelles as his ambaſſadors to Rome, not ſo much with the deſign of employing them in any negociation, as to enquire how the inhabitants of that city ſtood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to enquire ſecretly into what he had ſaid there (particularly to Quintius) with regard to the ſucceſſion to the throne. Philip imagined that theſe two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perſeus's adherents, and had engaged in his conſpiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was tranſacting (his brother's accuſation excepted) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; eſpecially when he found that his brother had ſo ordered matters, that he could not have the leaſt acceſs to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to ſhun all occaſions of ſuſpicion and envy. He avoided ſpeaking of the Romans, or holding the leaſt correſpondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incenſed the Macedonians againſt him. He ought to have taken theſe precautions ſooner; but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and ſincere in all things, and judged of others from himſelf, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whoſe intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus the Black Sea and the Adriatick, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be diſcovered, was curious to have an ocular demonſtration of it; imagining that this proſpect might be of ſome ſervice to the deſign he meditated, of making Italy the ſeat of war. He only took Perſeus with him, and ſent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pœonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to eſcort him. This governor was a creature of Perſeus, who had taught him his leſſon perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to inſinuate himſelf as artfully as poſſible

(a) Liv. l. xlix. n. 20—24.

poſſible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to diſcover all his ſecrets.

Didas executed his commiſſion but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius ſaid, lamented his ill fate, ſeemed to deteſt the injuſtice and inſincerity of his enemies, who repreſented him, on all occaſions, in the moſt odious light to his father, and offered to ſerve him to the utmoſt, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at laſt reſolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means (for it was neceſſary to paſs through Pœonia, of which Didas, as I obſerved above, was governor) and accordingly he revealed his deſign to him. Didas, without loſs of time, ſent advice of this to Perſeus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpreſſible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his enquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refute the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expoſe ſo ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the publick; rather than becauſe they had ſeen, from one and the ſame ſpot, river, ſeas, and mountains, at ſo vaſt a diſtance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the ſiege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's boſom-friend, was ſeiſed, and ſtrict orders were given, to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was ſeiſed with a deep melancholy. This laſt attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambaſſadors whom he had ſent to Rome, and who had been taught their leſſon before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and preſented the king with a forged letter, ſealed with the counterfeit ſeal of T. Quintius, in which he deſired Philip, "not to be offended at his "ſon Demetrius, for ſome unguarded expreſſions

" which might have eſcaped him, with reſpect to the " ſucceſſion to the crown; aſſuring him, that he would " not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of " blood and nature." He concluded with obſerving, " that it was never in his thoughts to give him ſuch " counſel." This letter confirmed all that Perſeus had advanced againſt his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his maſter with any thing.

Perſeus again accuſed his brother before the king. His having projected the deſign of flying to the Romans, through Pœonia; and of bribing certain perſons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumſtance which bore hardeſt againſt him was the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheleſs did not declare himſelf publickly againſt him, reſolving to make away with him ſecretly; not out of regard to his ſon, but leſt the noiſe, which the bringing him to execution would make, ſhould diſcover too viſibly the deſigns he projected againſt Rome. At his leaving Theſſalonica to go for Demetrias, he commanded Didas to diſpatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pœonia, poiſoned him at an entertainment that was made after a ſacrifice. Demetrius had no ſooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himſelf ſeiſed with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increaſing, two of Didas's domeſticks entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and ſtifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deſerved a much better fate.

A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. (c) Almoſt two years were elapſed, before the conſpiracy of Perſeus againſt his brother was diſcovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorſe, inceſſantly deplored his ſon's murther, and reproached himſelf with his cruelty. His ſurviving ſon, who

(c) Liv. l. xl. n. 54—57.

who looked upon himſelf already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themſelves, from the expectation that he would ſoon be their ſovereign, gave him no leſs pain. It was infinitely ſhocking to him, to ſee his old age deſpiſed; ſome waiting with the utmoſt impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among thoſe who had acceſs to him, Antigonus held the firſt rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the perſon of his prince, in the midſt of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perſeus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his profeſſed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be expoſed, when that prince ſhould ſucceed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought; and would, from time to time, ſigh and weep for his ſon Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that diſpoſition; when ſometimes liſtening to his diſcourſe on that ſubject, at other times beginning it himſelf, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his ſentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves ſome footſteps, by which it may be diſcerned, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to trace out the ſecret intrigues of Perſeus's conſpiracy.

The perſons who had the greateſt concern in that black affair, and of whom the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been ſent ambaſſadors to Rome; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flamininus, the letter which had proved ſo fatal to the young prince. It was generally whiſpered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but ſtill this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very

* *He was ſurnamed* Doſon.

luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of ſecretary of the embaſſy, happened upon ſome occaſion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arreſt, cauſed him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a ſtrong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined (ſays "he) royal ſir, from ſeveral things I have heard you "ſay, that nothing could give you greater pleaſure, "than to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain of your two ſons; and to diſcover which of "them it was that made an attempt on the other's "life. You now have in your power the man who "is beſt able to give you a perfect account of that "whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now in "your palace, and you may command him to be ſent "for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he firſt denied every thing; but he ſpoke ſo very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full diſcovery, upon being ever ſo little intimidated. Accordingly, the inſtant that the officer of juſtice appeared, he made a full confeſſion, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambaſſadors, and the ſhare he himſelf had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was ſeiſed; but Apelles, who was abſent, hearing that Xychus had made a full diſcovery, fled to Italy. Hiſtory does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having reſolutely denied the charge at firſt, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other hiſtorians, he bore the torture with the utmoſt fortitude, and aſſerted his innocence to the laſt gaſp. All theſe things only revived the ſorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflexions to his murthered ſon, or to him who was ſtill living.

Perſeus, being informed that his whole plot had been diſcovered, knew too well his own power and credit, to believe it neceſſary to ſecure himſelf by flight. The only precaution he took was, a reſolution to keep at a diſtance from court, as long as his father

father ſhould live, in order to withdraw himſelf from his reſentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to ſeiſe Perſeus, and bring him to condign puniſhment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he ſent for Antigonus, to whoſe great care he owed the diſcovery of the conſpiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his perſonal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced (ſays Philip) to the deplorable "neceſſity of wiſhing that my fate, which other fa- "thers deteſt as the moſt dreadful calamity that can "befall them (the being childleſs) I now am reſolving "to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to the "guardianſhip of your uncle; and which he not only "preſerved by his fidelity, but enlarged conſiderably "by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown "but yourſelf. And were there none capable of "wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it "ſhould be loſt for ever, than that Perſeus ſhould "have it, as the reward of his impious perfidy. "Methinks, I ſhall ſee Demetrius riſe from the ſe- "pulchre, and reſtored to his father, if I can be ſo "happy as to ſubſtitute you in his place; you, who "only bewailed the untimely death of my dear ſon, "and the unhappy credulity which proved his de- "ſtruction."

After this, he beſtowed the higheſt honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the moſt advantageous light to the publick. Whilſt Perſeus reſided in Thrace, Philip made a progreſs through ſeveral cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction, with the utmoſt zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in poſſeſſion of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a conſiderable ſtay in Theſſalonica, from whence he went to

to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerouſly ill. The phyſicians declared, that his ſickneſs proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he ſaw, in the dead of night, the ghoſt of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curſes on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his ſons with a ſhower of tears, and venting the moſt horrid imprecations againſt the other. Antigonus might have been raiſed to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the phyſician, who preſided in all the conſultations, did not ſtay till the king had breathed his laſt; but the very inſtant he ſaw that it was impoſſible for him to recover, he diſpatched couriers to Perſeus; it having been agreed between them, that he ſhould keep ſome in readineſs for that purpoſe; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perſeus appeared, whoſe ſudden arrival ſurpriſed all people. He then took poſſeſſion of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four laſt of which were employed in war againſt the Romans, for which he made preparations from his acceſſion to the throne. At laſt, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the ſeries of Perſeus's hiſtory, which has ſcarce any connexion with that of the other kings, I ſhall refer it to the following book, where it ſhall be related at large, and without interruption.

SECT. II. *The death of* SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR, *whoſe reign was ſhort and obſcure. He his ſucceeded by his brother* ANTIOCHUS, *ſurnamed* EPIPHANES. *Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria.* ANTIOCHUS *gains a victory over* PTOLEMY. *The conqueror poſſeſſes himſelf of Egypt, and takes the king priſoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Paleſtine; beſieges and takes Jeruſalem, where he exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of* PHILOMETOR, *who was* ANTIOCHUS's *priſoner, raiſe to the throne his younger brother* PTOLEMY EVERGETES, *ſurnamed alſo* PHYSCON. ANTIOCHUS *renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay ſiege to it.* POPILIUS, *one of the Roman ambaſſadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to moleſt the two brothers.*

SELEUCUS Philopator did not reign long in Aſia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the ſecond book of (*a*) Maccabees. The holy city of Jeruſalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-prieſt, inſpired by a ſpirit of piety, cauſed the laws of God to be ſtrictly obſerved there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the higheſt veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furniſhed, from his own private revenues, all that was neceſſary for the ſolemnization of the ſacrifices. Nevertheleſs, the perfidy of a Jew, called Simon, governor of the temple raiſed on a ſudden a great diſorder in the city. This man, to revenge himſelf of the oppoſition which Onias the high-prieſt made to his unjuſt enterpriſes, informed the king, that there were immenſe treaſures in the temple, which were not deſigned for the ſervice of the ſacrifices, and that he might ſeiſe upon them all. The king, on this infor-

(*a*) 2 Maccab. iii.

information, ſent Heliodorus his firſt miniſter to Jeruſalem, with orders to carry off all thoſe treaſures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-prieſt with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey, and aſked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treaſure, was true? The high-prieſt told him, that theſe treaſures were only depoſited there as in truſt, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner diſpoſe of them in wrong of thoſe to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not ſecure them better, than by depoſiting them in a temple, the holineſs of which was revered throughout the whole univerſe. This treaſure conſiſted of four hundred talents of ſilver (about fifty thouſand pounds ſterling) and in two hundred talents of gold (three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.) However, the miniſter ſent from that prince, inſiſting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money whatever might be the conſequence, muſt all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the reſolution to execute his commiſſion. Immediately the whole city was ſeiſed with the utmoſt terrour. The prieſts, dreſſed in their ſacerdotal veſtments, fell proſtrate at the foot of the altar; beſeeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to depoſites, to preſerve thoſe laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly beſought the Creator upon their knees, not to ſuffer ſo holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with ſackcloth, were ſeen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a ſpectacle truly worthy of compaſſion, to ſee ſuch multitudes, and eſpecially the high-prieſt, pierced with the deepeſt affliction, upon account of ſo impious a ſacrilege.

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treaſury, and preparing to break

break it open. But the * ſpirit of the Almighty now revealed itſelf by the moſt ſenſible marks; inſomuch that all thoſe who dared to obey Heliodorus, were ſtruck down by a divine power, and ſeiſed with a terrour which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horſe richly capariſoned, which ruſhing at once upon Heliodorus, ſtruck him ſeveral times with his fore-feet. The man who ſat on this horſe had a terrible aſpect, and his arms ſeemed of gold. At the ſame time were ſeen two young men, whoſe beauty dazzled the eye, and who, ſtanding on each ſide of Heliodorus, ſcourged him inceſſantly, and in the moſt violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorous falling from his horſe, was taken up and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to ſuccour him; and that, becauſe the power of God had diſplayed itſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner. By the ſame power he was caſt to the ground, ſpeechleſs, and without ſhowing the leaſt ſign of life; whilſt the temple, which before reſounded with nothing but lamentation, now echoed with the ſhouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Amighty, for having raiſed the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now ſome of Heliodorus's friends beſought the high-prieſt to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a ſacrifice for his health. Whilſt he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and ſaid to him: "Return thanks "to Onias the high-prieſt for it is for his ſake that "the Lord has granted your life. After having been "ſcourged from heaven, declare to the whole world "his miraculous power." Having ſpoke theſe words, they vaniſhed.

Heliodorus offered up ſacrifices, and made ſolemn vows to him who had reſtored him to life. He returned

* Sed ſpiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit ſuæ oſtentationis evidentiam.

turned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himſelf had been an eye witneſs. The king aſking him, whether he believed that another perſon might be ſent with ſafety to Jeruſalem, he anſwered, "In caſe you have an enemy, or any traiterous wretch "who has a deſign upon your crown, ſend him thi- "ther and you will ſee him return back quite flead "with ſcourging, and he perhaps may die under it. "For he who inhabiteth the heavens, is himſelf pre- "ſent in that place: he is the guardian and protec- "tor of it; and he ſtrikes thoſe mortally who go "thither to injure it."

The king was ſoon puniſhed for this ſacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after his defeat at Sipilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hoſtages, Antiochus, one of his ſons and the younger brother of Seleucus. (*b*) He reſided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reaſon is not known (perhaps to put him at the head of ſome military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing;) and to obtain him, he ſent Demetrius his only ſon, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as an hoſtage in Antiochus's room. During the abſence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, ſeiſe upon it, by taking off Seleucus; and accordingly he poiſoned him.

A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After ſpeaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, (*c*) *Then ſhall ſtand up in his eſtate a raiſer of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days* * *he ſhall be deſtroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.* Theſe few words denote evidently the ſhort and obſcure reign of

(*b*) Appian. in Syr. p. 116. (*c*) Dan. xi. 20.

* *The Hebrew word may ſignify either* days *or* years

of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out ſtill more clearly. *There ſhall ariſe up in his place* (of Antiochus) *a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, ſhall cauſe to paſs away, and* ſhall deſtroy *the glory of the kingdom.* And indeed this was the ſole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furniſh the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thouſand * talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

(*d*) Antiochus, afterwards ſurnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told, that the uſurper had a very ſtrong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whoſe claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's ſiſter. Antiochus had recourſe to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who ſeated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verſe 21. of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretels every thing that was to befal Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel perſecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elſewhere by the (*e*) *little horn which was to iſſue out of one of the four* large *horns.* I ſhall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verſe 21.) the prophet deſcribes his acceſſion to the throne. *And in his* (Seleucus's) *eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom: But he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* Antiochus's conduct ſhall ſhow how *vile* he was. It is ſaid, *that to him they ſhall not give the honours of the kingdom.* He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a ſon who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people; Eumenes

(*d*) Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan. (*e*) Dan. viii. 9.

* *About* 150,000*l.*

Eumenes and Attalus having ſet it on his head. Being returned from the Weſt *peaceably (or rather ſecretly)* to ſurpriſe his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a ſpecious appearance of clemency.

(f) He aſſumed the title of *Epiphanes*, that is, *illuſtrious*; which title was never worſe applied. The whole ſeries of his life will ſhow, that he deſerved much more that of *Epimanes (mad* or *furious)* which ſome people gave him.

Some circumſtances related of him prove how juſtly the epithet *vile* is beſtowed upon him in ſcripture. He uſed frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domeſticks, and ramble up and down the ſtreets of Antioch. He would ſpend his time in talking with goldſmiths and engravers in their ſhops; and in diſputing with them on the moſt minute particulars relating to the arts they profeſſed, and which he ridiculouſly boaſted he underſtood as well as they. He would very often ſtoop ſo low as to converſe with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiſcriminately with them in the places where they were aſſembled. On theſe occaſions he would ſit and drink with foreigners of the meaneſt condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleaſure between young people, he uſed to go (without ſaying a word to any perſon) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouſe and ſing with them, without obſerving the leaſt order or decorum. He ſometimes would take it into his head to diveſt himſelf of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from ſtreet to ſtreet, as he had ſeen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He aſked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and ſometimes would ſet up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himſelf elected, he would call for the Curule chair *; when ſeating himſelf in it, he judged

(f) Athen. l. v. p, 193.

* *This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magiſtrates.*

judged the petty ſuits relating to contracts of buying or ſelling; and pronounced ſentence with as much ſeriouſneſs and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmoſt importance. We are likewiſe told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he ſquandered away a great part of his revenues in exceſs and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently ſcower up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *Catch as catch can.* At other times, he would leave his palace (dreſſed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roſes on his head) and walk without attendants about the ſtreets; on which occaſions, if any perſon offered to follow him, he uſed to pelt him with ſtones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpoſe. He uſed often to go and bathe himſelf in the publick baths with the common people, where he committed ſuch extravagancies, as made every body deſpiſe him. After what has been ſaid (and I omit a great many other particulars) I ſubmit to the reader's judgement, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of *ſenſeleſs*, rather than that of *illuſtrious*.

(*g*) Scarce was Antiochus well ſeated on the throne, but Jaſon, brother of Onias, the Jewiſh high-prieſt, having formed a deſign to ſupplant his brother, offered that prince, ſecretly, three-hundred-and ſixty talents (about ninety thouſand pounds ſterling) beſides eighty more (about twelve thouſand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he ſhould appoint him high-prieſt. He ſucceeded in his negociation; and accordingly Onias, who was univerſally revered for his ſtrict piety and juſtice, was depoſed, and Jaſon eſtabliſhed in his room. The latter ſubverted entirely the religion of his anceſtors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewiſh nation, as appears from the ſecond book of the Maccabees, and Joſephus. A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174.

(*h*) In Egypt from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, ſiſter of Antiochus Epiphanes, had aſſumed the regency, and the tuition of her young ſon; A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173.

(*g*) 2 Maccab. c. iv. (*h*) Hieron. in Dan.

ſon; and had acquitted herſelf with the greateſt care and prudence. But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great diſtinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to ſuperintend the king's education. Theſe were no ſooner in their employments, but they ſent a deputation to demand Cœloſyria and Paleſtine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very ſoon after occaſioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of theſe kings, and ſiſter to the other, had prevented them as long as ſhe lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not ſhow ſo much regard for Antiochus, nor ſcruple to demand of him what they believed their ſovereign's right. (*i*) It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of theſe provinces from the firſt Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great diſpoſſeſſed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus his ſon, with no other right than that of conqueſt. They had deſcended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretenſions, declared, that, in the laſt diviſion of the empire between the four ſucceſſors of Alexander, who poſſeſſed themſelves of all countries after the battle of Iſſus, theſe provinces had been aſſigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himſelf, and his ſucceſſors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to diſpoſſeſs Egypt of thoſe provinces: that this prince had ſtipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to reſtore to him at the ſame time thoſe provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage-contract.

Antiochus denied both theſe facts; and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general diviſion which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Cœloſyria and Paleſtine) had been aſſigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that conſequently they belonged

(*i*) Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii—lxxxii.

ed juſtly to the prince in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back thoſe provinces, he aſſerted, that it was an abſolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reaſons on both ſides, without coming to any concluſion, they found it neceſſary to decide their pretenſions by force of arms.

(*k*) Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the ſolemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian cuſtom. Antiochus ſent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambaſſador, to be preſent on that occaſion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to diſcover, if poſſible, the deſigns of that court with reſpect to the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, as well as what meaſures were taking with regard to them. The inſtant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by ſea to Joppa, viſited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itſelf againſt all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progreſs he took Jeruſalem in his way, Jaſon and the whole city received him there with the greateſt pomp and magnificence. Notwithſtanding the honours paid him in Jeruſalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewiſh nation. From Jeruſalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having ſettled all things in every place through which he paſſed, he returned to Antioch.

(*l*) The ſame Apollonius had been ſent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embaſſy. He made excuſes to the ſenate for his maſter's having ſent the tribute later than was ſtipulated by the treaty. Beſides the ſum due, he made a preſent to the people of ſeveral golden vaſes. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendſhip, which had been granted

(*k*) 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22. (*l*) Liv. l. xl. n. 6.

his father, ſhould be renewed with him; and deſired that the Romans would give him ſuch orders as ſuited a king, who valued himſelf on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his ſovereign could never forget the great favours he received from the ſenate; from all the youths of Rome; and from perſons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hoſtage, but as a monarch. The ſenate made an obliging anſwer to theſe ſeveral particulars, and diſmiſſed Apollonius, with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and laden with preſents. It was well known, from the Roman ambaſſadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much eſteemed by the king, and had the higheſt regard for the Romans.

A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. (*m*) Jaſon, the year following, ſent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negociate ſome other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, inſtead of confining himſelf to the orders of his commiſſion, ſupplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave riſe to tumults, diſorders, murthers, and ſacrilegious acts; but the death of Onias, who was univerſally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though ſo very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murtherer to condign puniſhment. I make only a tranſient mention of theſe facts, and omit the principal circumſtances of them, becauſe they belong properly to the hiſtory of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only ſuch particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in ſuch a manner as to preſerve their beauty.

A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. (*n*) Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with

(*m*) 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c. (*n*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi, lxxii. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel.

with which he ſaw himſelf threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; finding himſelf in a condition to begin it, reſolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but ſixteen, and was governed entirely by weak miniſters, he ſhould be able to bring him to what terms he pleaſed. He was perſuaded that the Romans, under whoſe protection the Egyptians had put themſelves, were engaged in ſo many affairs, that it would be impoſſible for them to give the latter the leaſt ſuccour; and that the war they were carrying on againſt Perſeus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leiſure for it. In a word, he thought the preſent juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of thoſe provinces.

In the mean time, to obſerve meaſures with the Romans, he ſent ambaſſadors to the ſenate to repreſent the right he had to the provinces of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, of which he was actually poſſeſſed, and the neceſſity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the ſupport of them; immediately after which he put himſelf at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Caſius and Peluſium; and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made ſo good an uſe of his ſucceſs, that he put the frontier in a condition to ſerve as a barrier, and to check the utmoſt efforts the Egyptians might make to recover thoſe provinces. This was his firſt expedition into Egypt: after which, without engaging in any other enterpriſe that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

(o) During his ſtay there, three perſons deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jeruſalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his preſence of impiety and ſacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but, at the requeſt of Ptolemy Macron, A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170.

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(o) 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50.

Macron, one of his miniſters in the intereſt of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as falſe witneſſes; *an action*, ſays the author of the Maccabees, (*p*) *ſo very unjuſt, that, before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent.* The Tyrians, touched with compaſſion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

(*q*) This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governour of the iſland of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the miniſters, though they made the warmeſt inſtances upon that head; but had conſtantly refuſed to regard them, from juſtly ſuſpecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treaſure to Alexandria, and depoſited it in the exchequer. A rare inſtance of a noble diſregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his diſpoſal! So conſiderable a ſum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exaſperated at ſome ill treatment he met with from the miniſters, or at his not having been rewarded for ſo important a ſervice, he rebelled againſt Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's ſervice, and delivered up the iſland of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite ſatisfaction, took him into the number of his confidents, made him governour of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; and ſent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the caſtle at Jeruſalem under Soſtratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

(*r*) Antiochus ſpent the whole winter in making freſh preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt; and, the inſtant the ſeaſon would permit it, invaded that

(*p*) 2 Maccab. iv. 47. (*q*) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. & 1 Maccab. iii. 38. (*r*) 2 Mac. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in. Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 311.

that country both by ſea and land. Ptolemy had raiſed a very conſiderable army, but without ſucceſs; for Antiochus gained a ſecond battle on the frontiers, took the city of Peluſium, and marched to the very center of Egypt. In this laſt defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have ſuffered a ſingle man to eſcape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, inſtead of making uſe of the advantage he had gained, he himſelf rode up and down on all ſides, and obliged his ſoldiers to diſcontinue the ſlaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their ſubmiſſion to him; ſo that he ſoon took Memphis and all the reſt of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out againſt him.

Philometor was either taken, or elſe ſurrendered himſelf to Antiochus, who ſet him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, ſeemingly, in great friendſhip; and, for ſome time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the intereſts of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But when he had once poſſeſſed himſelf of the country, under that pretext he ſeiſed whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himſelf, as well as his ſoldiers, with the ſpoils of the Egyptians.

(s) Philometor made a miſerable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as poſſible from danger, and had not even ſhown himſelf to thoſe who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he ſubmit himſelf to Antiochus, by whom he ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of ſo fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preſerve it! This, however, was not ſo much owing to want of courage and natural capacity (for he afterwards gave proofs of both) as the effects of his ſoft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who alſo was his prime miniſter, had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to plunge him in luxury and

(s) Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 310.

effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs, and to make himſelf as neceſſary when the young prince ſhould be of age, as he had been during his minority; and thereby engroſs all power in his own hands.

(*t*) Whilſt Antiochus was in Egypt, a falſe report of his death ſpread throughout Paleſtine. Jaſon thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had loſt in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thouſand men to Jeruſalem; and there, by the aſſiſtance of his partizans in the city, made himſelf maſter of it; drove out Tenelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exerciſed every ſpecies of cruelty upon his fellow citizens, and unmercifully put to death all thoſe who fell into his hands, and whom he conſidered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general inſurrection, and therefore ſet forward immediately to quell it. The circumſtance which moſtly exaſperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had made great rejoicings, when a falſe report had prevailed of his death. He therefore beſieged the city, took it by ſtorm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the ſoldiers, he cauſed fourſcore thouſand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thouſand were alſo taken priſoners, and the like number ſold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet ſatisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the ſanctuary and the moſt ſacred places; even polluting, by his preſence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding ſacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the ſhew-bread, the candleſtick with ſeven branches belonging to the ſanctuary (all theſe were of gold;) with ſeveral other vaſes, utenſils, and gifts of kings, alſo of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch

(*t*) 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15—21. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

Antioch laden with the ſpoils of Judæa and Egypt, all which together amounted to immenſe * ſums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his ſetting out, appointed, as Governor over Judæa, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty: He nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous diſpoſition, governor of Samaria; and beſtowed on Menelaus, the moſt wicked of the three, the title of high-prieſt, inveſting him with the authority annexed to that office.

(u) Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jeruſalem by ſtrange phænomenas in the ſkies, that had appeared there, ſome time before, during forty days ſucceſſively. Theſe were men, ſome on horſeback, and others on foot, armed with ſhields, lances, and ſwords, who, forming conſiderable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

(x) The Alexandrians, ſeeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he ſuffered to govern his kingdom at diſcretion, conſidered him as loſt to them, and therefore ſeated his younger brother upon the throne, which they firſt declared void. *(y)* On this occaſion he had the name of Ptolemy *Evergetes* II. given him, which was ſoon changed to that of *Cacergetes*; the former ſignifying *beneficent*, and the latter *malevolent*. He afterwards was nicknamed † *Phyſcon*, or *tun-bellied*, becauſe his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. *(z)* Moſt hiſtorians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief miniſters, and were ordered to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore, if poſſible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flouriſhing condition. A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169.

Antio-

(u) 2 Maccab. v. 2—4.
(x) Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig.
(y) Athen. l. iv. p. 184.
(z) Polyb. in Leg. c. lxxxi.

* *We are told in the Maccabees, Book* II. *ch.* i. *ver.* 14. *that he carried off from the temple, only eighteen hundred talents, which are equivalent to about two hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling.*

† Φύσκων ventricoſus, obeſus, *from* φύσκη, Craſſum inteſtinum, venter.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was tranſacting, took occaſion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a ſea-fight near Peluſium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to beſiege it. The young king conſulted his two miniſters, who adviſed him to ſummon a grand council, compoſed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them on the meaſures proper to be taken in the preſent exigency. After many debates, they came at laſt to this reſolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to ſo low an ebb, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambaſſadors of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, ſhould be deſired to employ their mediation; to which they readily conſented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambaſſadors, who had the ſame inſtructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their propoſals on the morrow. The Achæans ſpoke firſt, and afterwards the reſt in their turns. All were unanimous in their accuſation of Eulæus; aſcribing the calamities of the war to his mal-adminiſtration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the ſame time, they apologiſed in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetorick to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great ſtreſs on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the anſwer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cauſe and origin of the war; took occaſion from thence to inforce the right he had to Cœloſyria and Paleſtine; alledged the reaſons we have related

related above; and produced ſome authentick inſtruments, which were judged ſo ſtrong, that all the members of this congreſs were convinced that he had the juſteſt right to thoſe provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he poſtponed them till another opportunity; promiſing them that he would make preparations for a ſolemn treaty, as ſoon as two abſent perſons, whom he named, ſhould be with him; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would not take a ſingle ſtep without them.

After this anſwer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to beſiege it. (*a*) In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his ſiſter, who were in the city, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, repreſenting the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambaſſadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the ſenate, with all the marks of ſorrow uſed at that time in the greateſt afflictions, and made a ſpeech ſtill more affecting. They obſerved, that the authority of the Romans was ſo much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received ſo many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambaſſadors, that the ſenate did not approve of his making war againſt kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. That, ſhould the ſenate refuſe to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a diſhonour on the Romans, ſhould the world have an opportunity to ſay, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were ſo deſperate.

The ſenate, moved with their remonſtrances, and perſuaded that it would not be for the intereſt of the Romans to ſuffer Antiochus to attain to ſuch an height of

(*a*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. xc.

of power, which would be too formidable, ſhould he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hoſtilius; were appointed for this important negociation. Their inſtructions were, that they ſhould firſt wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; ſhould order them, in the name of the ſenate, to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and put an end to the war: And that, ſhould either of the parties refuſe a compliance, the Romans would no longer conſider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the reſolution had been taken in the ſenate, they ſet out from Rome with the Egyptian ambaſſadors.

(*b*) A little before their departure, ſome Rhodian ambaſſadors arrived in Egypt, who came expreſsly to terminate, if poſſible, the diviſions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; ſtrongly inſiſting on the friendſhip with which both crowns had ſo long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to ſettle a laſting peace between them. As they expatiated conſiderably on theſe common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words, That they had no occaſion to make long harangues on this ſubject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a ſtrict friendſhip; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

(*c*) He ſaid theſe words, but harboured a very different deſign; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The reſiſtance he met with from Alexandria, the ſiege of which he plainly ſaw he ſhould be forced to raiſe, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforwards be his intereſt to keep up an enmity, and occaſion

(*b*) Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv. (*c*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

caſion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to ſuch a degree, that it ſhould be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleaſed. In this view he raiſed the ſiege, marched towards Memphis, and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, Peluſium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleaſed, and the inſtant matters ſhould be ripe for his purpoſe. After having made theſe diſpoſitions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at laſt to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be ſenſible of all the calamities theſe revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to ſee through Antiochus's deſign; and that king's keeping poſſeſſion of Peluſium entirely opened his eyes. He ſaw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himſelf ſhould be reduced ſo low as to be unable to make the leaſt reſiſtance; and that then both would fall victims to his ambition. The inſtant therefore that Antiochus marched away, he ſent to inform his brother, that he deſired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their ſiſter, on condition that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was reſtored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly thoſe of Alexandria, who had ſuffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus ſpoken from his heart, when he declared that the ſole deſign of his coming into Egypt was to reſtore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleaſed to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining ſuch thoughts; and I before obſerved, that he concealed, beneath thoſe ſpecious profeſſions, an intention to cruſh the two brothers, after they ſhould have reduced each other by a war.

The

(*d*) The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, ſent ambaſſadors into Greece, to deſire ſome auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The aſſembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requeſted only a thouſand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horſe under Polybius. They had alſo given orders for raiſing a thouſand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who preſided in the aſſembly, oppoſed the requeſt made by the ambaſſadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the intereſt of the Achæan confederates, to concern themſelves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preſerve their ſoldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would ſoon come to a battle with Perſeus. Lycortas and Polybius then ſpeaking, obſerved, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to ſend him; the conſul thanked him, and ſaid, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he ſhould not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Beſides, that as the league was able, without the leaſt inconveniency, to levy thirty or forty thouſand men; conſequently ſo ſmall a number as was deſired by the Egyptian princes would not leſſen their ſtrength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings; that it would be the higheſt ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refuſal on this occaſion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws to debate on an affair of that nature in ſuch an aſſembly.

It therefore was held, ſome time after in Sicyon; and

(*d*) Polyb. Legat. lxxxix—xci.

and as the members were upon the point of taking the ſame reſolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus, and in conſequence cauſed a decree to paſs, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to ſend only an embaſſy to thoſe princes.

(e) The inſtant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he reſolved to employ his whole force againſt them. Accordingly, he ſent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preſerve the poſſeſſion of that iſland: at the ſame time he marched at the head of a very powerful land army, with the deſign to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cauſe of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambaſſadors from Philometor, who told him. That their ſovereign was very ſenſible that he owed his reſtoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to deſtroy his own work by employing fire and ſword; but on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretenſions. Antiochus, throwing off the maſk, no longer uſed the tender and affectionate expreſſions, of which he had till then been ſo oſtentatiouſly laviſh, but declared himſelf at once an enemy to both. He told the ambaſſadors, that he inſiſted upon having the iſland of Cyprus, with the city of Peluſium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was ſituated, reſigned to him for ever; aſſuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He alſo fixed a day for a final anſwer to his demand. A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180.

The time being elapſed, and the ſatisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hoſtilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, ſubjecting the whole country through which he paſſed; and there received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the reſt of the kingdom. He afterwards marched towards Alexandria, with deſign to beſiege that city, the poſſeſſion of which would have

(e) Liv. l. xlv. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

have made him abſolute maſter of all Egypt. He would certainly have ſucceeded in his enterpriſe, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embaſſy, which broke all the meaſures he had been ſo long taking, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of Egypt.

We before obſerved, that the ambaſſadors, who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmoſt diligence. They landed at Alexandria, juſt at the time Antiochus was marching to beſiege it. The ambaſſadors came up with him at * Eleuſine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king ſeeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hoſtage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not conſider himſelf on that occaſion as a private man, but a ſervant of the publick, deſired to know, before he anſwered his compliment, whether he ſpoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the ſenate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate anſwer. Antiochus, after peruſing it, ſaid, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his anſwer in a ſhort time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raiſing his voice; *Anſwer*, ſays he, *the ſenate, before you ſtir out of that circle.* The king, quite confounded at ſo haughty an order, after a moment's reflexion, replied, that he would act according to the deſire of the ſenate. Popilius then received his civilities, and behaved afterwards in all reſpects as an old friend. † How effectual was this blunt loftineſs of ſentiments and expreſſion! The Roman with a few words ſtrikes terror into the king of Syria, and ſaves the king of Egypt.

The circumſtance which made the one ſo bold, and the other ſo ſubmiſſive, was the news that arrived juſt before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perſeus

* *Turnebius and H. Valeſius think that we ſhould read, in Livy*, Eleuſinem *inſtead of* Leuſinem.

† Quam efficax eſt animi ſermoniſque abſciſſa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Egypti texit. *Val. Max.* l. vi. c. 4.

Perſeus king of Macedonia. From that inſtant every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time ſtipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he ſigned the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then croſſed into Cyprus, ſent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; reſtored the whole iſland to the kings of Egypt, who laid a juſt claim to it; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs of his embaſſy.

Ambaſſadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra their ſiſter, arrived there almoſt at the ſame time. The former ſaid, "That the peace "which the ſenate had been pleaſed to grant their "ſovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the "moſt ſplendid conqueſts; and that he had obeyed "the commands of the Roman ambaſſadors as ſtrict-"ly as if they had been ſent from the gods." How groveling, and at the ſame time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perſeus. The reſt of the ambaſſadors declared, in the like extravagant ſtrain; "That the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra "thought themſelves bound in as great obligations to "the ſenate and people of Rome, as to their parents, "and even to the gods; having been delivered, by "the protection which Rome had granted them, from "a very grievous ſiege; and re-eſtabliſhed on the "throne of their anceſtors, of which they had been "almoſt entirely diſpoſſeſſed." The ſenate anſwered, "That Antiochus acted wiſely in paying obedience to "the ambaſſadors; and that the people and ſenate of "Rome were pleaſed with him for it." Methinks this is carrying the ſpirit of haughtineſs as high as poſſible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was anſwered; "That the ſenate were very much pleaſed "with the opportunity of doing them ſome ſervice;

" and that they would endeavour to make them ſen-
" ſible that they ought to look upon the friendſhip
" and protection of the Romans, as the moſt ſolid
" ſupport of their kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambaſſadors the uſual preſents.

SECT. III. ANTIOCHUS, *enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to aboliſh the worſhip of the true God in Jeruſalem. He exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelties in that city. The generous reſiſtance made by* MATTATHIAS, *who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his ſons to fight in defence of the law of God.* JUDAS MACCABEUS *gains ſeveral victories over the generals and armies of* ANTIOCHUS. *That prince, who had marched into Perſia, in order to amaſs treaſures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is ſhamefully repulſed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he ſets out on a ſudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is ſtruck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greateſt torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

A. M. 3636. Ant. J. C. 168. (*a*) ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exaſperated to ſee himſelf forcibly diſpoſſeſſed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Paleſtine, he detached twenty-two thouſand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to deſtroy the city of Jeruſalem.

Apollonius arrived there juſt two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his firſt coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received ſuch cruel orders, and waited till the firſt day of the ſabbath before he executed them. But then, ſeeing all the people aſſembled peaceably in the ſynagogues, and paying their religious worſhip to the Creator.

(*a*) 1 Maccab. i. 30—40.. and ii. ver. 24—27. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commiſſion he had received; and ſetting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to ſeiſe all the women and children, in order that they might be expoſed to ſale. Theſe commands were obeyed with the utmoſt cruelty and rigour. Not a ſingle man was ſpared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, inſomuch that every part of the city ſtreamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire ſet to ſeveral parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demoliſhed ſuch parts of the houſes as were ſtill ſtanding; and with the ruins built a ſtrong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David oppoſite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a ſtrong garriſon into it, to awe the whole Jewiſh nation; they made it a good place for arms, furniſhed with good magazines, where they depoſited all the ſpoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garriſon fell on all who came to worſhip the true God in the temple; and ſhed their blood on every part of the ſanctuary, which they polluted by all poſſible methods. A ſtop was put to both morning and evening ſacrifices, not one of the ſervants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

(*b*) As ſoon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he publiſhed a decree, by which the ſeveral nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aſide their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular uſages; to profeſs the ſame religion with the king, and to worſhip the ſame gods, and after the ſame manner as he did. This decree, though expreſſed in general terms, glanced nevertheleſs chiefly at the Jews, whom he was abſolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he ſent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to ſee it put in execu-

(*b*) 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. & 2 Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

tion; and to inſtruct the people in all the ceremonies and cuſtoms to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they ſeem not to have been affected with the change of their worſhip, or gods, they however were not very well pleaſed with this innovation in religious matters. No people ſeemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They preſented a petition to the king, in which they declared themſelves not to be Jews; and deſired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular *, might henceforwards be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciouſly, and ordered Nicanor, deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian-Jupiter, as they had deſired, and not to moleſt them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apoſtates who forſook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to eſcape the perſecution, to ingratiate themſelves with the king or his officers, or elſe from inclination and libertiniſm, changed alſo their religion. From theſe different motives many fell from Iſrael (*c*); and ſeveral of thoſe who had once taken this wicked ſtep, joining themſelves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater perſecutors of their unhappy brethren than the Heathens themſelves, employed to execute this barbarous commiſſion.

The intendant, who was ſent into Judæa and Samaria, to ſee the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well verſed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reaſon, was judged a fit perſon to invite thoſe nations to join in it. As ſoon as he arrived in Jeruſalem, he began by putting a ſtop to the

(*c*) 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

* *They expreſſed themſelves in that manner, becauſe the mighty name of the God of Iſrael* (Jehovah) *was never uttered by the Jews.*

the ſacrifices which were offered up to the God of Iſrael, and ſuppreſſing all the obſervances of the Jewiſh law. They polluted the temple in ſuch a manner, that it was no longer fit for the ſervice of God; profaned the ſabbaths and other feſtivals; forbid the circumciſion of children; carried off and burned all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; aboliſhed all the ordinances of God in every part of the country; and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian ſoldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief inſtruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion profeſſed by the ſovereign.

To eſtabliſh it the ſooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and ſacred groves were planted. They ſet officers over theſe, who cauſed all the people in general to offer ſacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat ſwine's fleſh, and other unclean animals ſacrificed there.

(*d*) One of theſe officers, Appelles by name, came to Modin, the reſidence of Mattathias, of the ſacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was ſon to John, and grandſon to Simon, from whoſe father, Aſmoneus, the family was called Aſmoneans. With him were his five ſons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himſelf. Theſe were Joannan, ſurnamed *Gaddis*; Simon, ſurnamed *Thaſi*; Judas, ſurnamed *Maccabeus*; Eleazar, called *Abaron*; and Jonathan, called *Apphus*. Being arrived in Modin, Appelles aſſembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commiſſion. Directing himſelf afterwards to Mattathias he endeavoured to perſuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the converſion of ſo venerable a man would induce all the reſt of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promiſed, that in caſe of his compliance, the king would rank him

(*d*) 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1.

in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himſelf and his ſons ſhould be raiſed, by the court, to the greateſt honours and preferments. Mattathias ſaid, ſo loud as to be heard by the whole aſſembly, that * though all the nations of the earth ſhould obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Iſrael ſhould abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himſelf, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, ſeeing a Jew going up to the altar which the Heathens had raiſed, to ſacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and tranſported with a † juſt and holy indignation, he fell upon the apoſtate, and killed him: after this, being aſſiſted by his ſons, and ſome others who joined them, he alſo killed the king's commiſſioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the ſtandard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city; ‡ *Whoſoever is zealous of the law* (*e*) *and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me.* As he now had aſſembled his whole family, and all who were truely zealous for the worſhip of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they ſoon were followed by others; ſo that all the deſerts of Judæa were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the perſecution.

(*f*) At firſt when the Jews were attacked on the ſabbath, for fear of violating the holineſs of the day, they did not dare to make the leaſt defence, but ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces. However, they ſoon became ſenſible, that the law of the ſabbath was not binding to perſons in ſuch imminent danger as themſelves.

Advice

(*e*) 1 Maccab. vii. 27.

(*f*) Ibid. ii. 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi 11. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii c. 8.

* Etſi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut diſcedat unuſquiſque à ſervitute legis patrum ſuorum, & conſentiat mandatis ejus: ego, & filii mei, & fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum noſtrorum.

† *God had commanded his people to ſlay thoſe who ſhould perſuade them to ſacrifice to idols.* See Deut. chap. xii. ver. 6—11.

‡ Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, ſtatuens teſtamentum, exeat poſt me.

(*g*) Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not ſo implicitly obeyed in Judæa as in all other nations, he went thither in perſon, in order to ſee them put in execution. He then exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties over all ſuch Jews as refuſed to abjure their religion; in order to force the reſt, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. (*b*) At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazer; of the mother and her ſeven ſons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their hiſtory is univerſally known, they appear to me ſo important, and relate ſo nearly to Antiochus, whoſe life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myſelf to omit it. I ſhall therefore repeat it in almoſt the very words of ſcripture. A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.

The extreme violence of the perſecution occaſioned many to fall away: but, on the other ſide, ſeveral continued inflexible, and choſe to ſuffer death, rather than pollute themſelves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the moſt illuſtrious among theſe. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whoſe life had been one continued ſeries of ſpotleſs innocence. He was commanded to eat ſwine's fleſh, and endeavours were uſed to make him ſwallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious life to a criminal death, went voluntarily to execution; and perſevering in his reſolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to ſave his life.

His friends who were preſent, moved with an unjuſt compaſſion, took him aſide, and earneſtly beſought him to permit them to bring him ſuch meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the ſacrifice, purſuant to the king's command; and by that means ſave his life. But Eleazar, conſidering only what great age, the noble and generous ſentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, anſwered,

(*g*) Joſeph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v. (*b*) 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

ſwered, purſuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than conſent to what was deſired from him. "It would be ſhameful," ſays he to them, "for me, at this age, to uſe ſuch an artifice, as many young men, upon the ſuppoſition "that Eleazar, at fourſcore-and-ten years of age, had "embraced the principles of the Heathens, would be "impoſed upon by ſuch deceit, which I ſhould have "employed to preſerve the ſhort remains of a corruptible life; and thereby I ſhould diſhonour my old "age, and expoſe it to the curſes of all men. Beſides, ſuppoſing I ſhould by that means avoid the "puniſhment of men, I could never fly from the "hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor "in that which is to come. For this reaſon, if I lay "down my life courageouſly, I ſhall appear worthy "of old age; and ſtill leave behind me, for the imitation of young people, an example of conſtancy "and reſolution, by ſuffering patiently an honourable "death, for the ſake of our venerable and holy laws." Eleazar had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but he was dragged to execution. The officers who attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with ſome humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had ſaid, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his laſt, he vented a deep ſigh, and ſaid: "O Lord! "thou who art poſſeſſed of the holy knowledge, thou "ſeeſt that I, who could have delivered myſelf from "death, do yet ſuffer cruel agonies in my body, but "in my ſoul find joy in my ſufferings, becauſe I fear "thee." Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and reſolution.

At this time ſeven brothers, with their mother, were ſeiſed; and king Antiochus would force them to eat ſwine's fleſh contrary to their law, by cauſing their bodies to be ſcourged in a moſt inhuman manner. But the eldeſt of the brethren ſaid to him; "What is it "thou wouldeſt aſk or have of us? We are ready to

"lay

" lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy " laws which God gave to our forefathers." The king being exaſperated at theſe words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated; and when they were red, he cauſed the tongue of that man who had ſpoke firſt to be cut off; had the ſkin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought cloſe to the fire and fried in the pan. Whilſt theſe variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageouſly ſaying; " The Lord God will have regard to truth; " he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moſes " declares in his ſong."

The firſt dying in this manner, the ſecond was taken; and after the hair of his head, with the ſkin, were tore away, he was aſked whether he would eat of ſome meats which were preſented to him, otherwiſe, that all his limbs ſhould be ſevered from his body. But he anſwered in the language of his country, " I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the ſame manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he ſpoke thus to the king: " Wicked prince, you bereave us of this terreſtrial " life; but the king of heaven and earth, if we die " for the defence of his laws, will one day raiſe us up " to everlaſting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards ſtretching forth his hands with the utmoſt tranquillity of mind, he bravely ſaid; " I " received theſe limbs from heaven, but I now deſpiſe " them, ſince I am to defend the laws of God; from " the ſure and ſtedfaſt hopes that he will one day re- " ſtore them to me." The king and all his followers were aſtoniſhed at the intrepidity of this young man, who ſcorned the utmoſt efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the ſame manner, and being ready to die, he ſaid to the monarch; " It is

" for

" for our advantage to be killed by men, becauſe we " hope that God will reſtore us to life at the reſurrec- " tion: but you, O king, will never riſe to life."

The fifth whilſt they were tormenting him, ſaid to Antiochus; " You now act according to your own " will and pleaſure, becauſe you are inveſted with " abſolute human power, though you are but a mor- " tal man. But do not imagine that God has for- " ſaken our nation. Stay but a little, and you will " ſee the wondrous effects of his power; and in what " manner he will torment yourſelf and your race."

The ſixth came next, who the moment before he expired ſaid; " Do not deceive yourſelf: It is true, " indeed, our ſins have drawn upon us the exquiſite " tortures which we now ſuffer: But do not flatter " yourſelf with the hopes of impunity, after having " preſumed to make war againſt God himſelf."

In the mean time their mother, ſupported by the hopes that ſhe had in God, beheld, with incredible reſolution, all her ſeven ſons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wiſeſt and moſt pathetick diſcourſe, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderneſs of a mother, ſhe ſaid to them; " I " know not in what manner you were formed in my " womb; for it was not I who inſpired you with a " ſoul and with life, nor formed your members: But " I am ſure that the Creator of the world, who " faſhioned man, and who gave being to all things, " will one day reſtore you to life by his infinite mercy, " in return for your having deſpiſed it here, out of " the love you bear to his laws."

There ſtill remained her youngeſt ſon. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance; aſſuring him, with an oath, that he would raiſe him to riches and power; and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forſake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being inſenſible to all theſe promiſes, the king called his mother, and adviſed her to inſpire the child with ſalutary counſels. This ſhe promiſed; and going up to her ſon, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty,

cruelty, ſhe ſaid to him in her native language, "Son, "have pity on me; on me, who bore you nine months "in my womb; who for three years fed you with milk "from my breaſts, and brought you up ever ſince. I "conjure you, dear child, to look upon heaven and "earth, and every thing they contain, and firmly to "believe that God formed them all as well as man. "Fear not that cruel executioner; but ſhow yourſelf "worthy of your brethren, by ſubmitting chearfully "to death; in order that, by the mercy of God, I "may receive you, together with your brothers, in the "glory which awaits us."

As ſhe was ſpeaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud; "What is it you expect from me? I do "not obey the king's command, but the law which "was given us by Moſes. As to you, from whom "all the calamities with which the Hebrews have "been afflicted flow, you ſhall not eſcape the hand "of the Almighty. Our ſufferings, indeed, are owing "to our ſins: but, if the Lord our God, to puniſh "us, was, for a little time, angry with us, he at "laſt will be appeaſed, and be reconciled to his "ſervants. But as for you, the moſt wicked, the "moſt impious of men, do not flatter yourſelf with "vain hopes. You ſhall not eſcape the judgement of "the Creator, who is all-ſeeing and omnipotent. As "to my brothers; after having ſuffered a moment, "the moſt cruel tortures, they taſte eternal joys. In "imitation of the example they have ſet me, I freely "give up my body and life for the laws of my fore-"fathers; and I beſeech God to extend his mercy "ſoon to our nation; to force you by wounds and "tortures of every kind to confeſs that he is the only "God; and that his anger, which is juſtly fallen on "the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that of "my brethren."

The king, now tranſported with fury, and unable to bear theſe inſults, cauſed this laſt youth to be tortured more grievouſly than the reſt. Thus he died in the ſame holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmoſt

utmoſt confidence in God. At laſt the mother alſo ſuffered death.

A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. (*b*) Mattathias, before he died, ſent for his five ſons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God againſt their perſecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as preſident of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his anceſtors, all the faithful Iſraelites ſhedding floods of tears at his death.

(*i*) Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perſeus and conquered Macedonia, had ſolemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, ſituated on the river Strymon, was deſirous to have the ſame ſpectacle exhibited at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, ſent to all places to invite ſpectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, coſt immenſe ſums, and laſted ſeveral days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, anſwered in every reſpect to the character given of him by Daniel (*k*), who calls him a *vile* or contemptible *man*; as I have ſaid elſewhere. He there did ſo many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, aſſembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-ſtock of them all: And many of them were ſo much diſguſted, that, to prevent their being ſpectators of a conduct ſo unworthy a prince, and ſo repugnant to the rules of modeſty and decorum, they refuſed to go any more to the feaſts to which he invited them.

(*l*) He had ſcarce ended the ſolemnization of theſe games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambaſſador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him ſo polite and friendly a reception, that the ambaſſador not only laid aſide all ſuſpicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any reſentment with reſpect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed thoſe

(*b*) 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joſeph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12.

(*i*) Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 321.

(*k*) Dan. xi. 21.

(*l*) Polyb. Legat. ci.—civ. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 322.

thoſe who ſpread ſuch reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, beſides other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to reſign his crown to him. The ambaſſador ought to have been politician enough to ſuſpect all theſe careſſes: for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might beſt revenge himſelf of the Romans; but he diſguiſed his ſentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

(*m*) Whilſt Antiochus was amuſing himſelf with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortreſſes, threw ſtrong garriſons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he ſhould be able to check his progreſs, and accordingly marched directly againſt him. However Judas defeated him, and made a great ſlaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of revenging the affront his maſter had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was alſo defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exaſperated to fury. Immediately he aſſembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to deſtroy the whole Jewiſh nation, and to ſettle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not ſufficient ſums in his coffers, having exhauſted them in the fooliſh expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to ſuſpend the vengeance he meditated againſt the Jewiſh nation; and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that deſign.

(*n*) He had ſquandered immenſe ſums on the games. Beſides this, he had been extravagantly profuſe in every

(*m*) 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10.
(*n*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

every other reſpect, particularly in the preſents he beſtowed on particular perſons and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; ſometimes ſeaſonably enough, but moſt frequently without ſenſe or reaſon. On theſe occaſions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he ſhould (*o*) *ſcatter among them the prey and ſpoil of riches*; and the author of the (*p*) Maccabees ſays, that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had *abounded above the kings that were before him*. We are told by (*q*) Athenæus, that the circumſtances which enabled him to defray ſo prodigious an expence were, firſt, the ſpoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promiſe he had made Philometor in his minority; ſecondly, the ſums he had raiſed among his friends, by way of free gifts; laſtly (which was the moſt conſiderable article) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had ſacrilegiouſly invaded.

(*r*) Beſides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others aroſe, according to Daniel's prophecy, *from the tidings* which came to him *out of the Eaſt and out of the North*. For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled againſt him; and Perſia which lay eaſtward, diſcontinued the regular payment of the tribute. (*s*) There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things ſeemed in the utmoſt confuſion occaſioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient cuſtoms of ſo many of his ſubjects were aboliſhed; and thoſe of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculouſly fond, eſtabliſhed in their ſtead. Theſe things occaſioned great confuſion with reſpect to the payments which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vaſt and rich empire, and had always ſupplied ſums ſufficient to defray the great expences it was neceſſary to be at.

(*t*) To remedy theſe grievances, as well as a multitude

(*o*) Dan. xi. 24. (*p*) 1 Maccab. iii. 30.
(*q*) Athen. l. v. p. 195 (*r*) Dan. xi. 44. & Hieron. in hunc locum.
(*s*) 1 Maccab. iii. 29.
(*t*) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. & iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8—28. Joſeph Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

tude of others, he reſolved to divide his forces into two parts: To give the command of one of his armies to Lyſias, deſcended from the blood-royal, in order that he might ſubdue the Jews; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Perſia, to re-inſtate the affairs of thoſe provinces in their former flouriſhing condition. He accordingly left Lyſias the government of all the countries on this ſide the Euphrates; and the care of his ſon's education, who afterwards was called * *Antiochus Eupator*. After paſſing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him priſoner. He marched from thence into Perſia, where he ſuppoſed he ſhould have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and thoſe in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himſelf, that he ſhould there find ſums ſufficient to fill his coffers, and re-inſtate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilſt he was forming all theſe projects, Lyſias was meditating how he might beſt put in execution the orders he had left him, eſpecially thoſe which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, ſo as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to diſtribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it neceſſary for him to make the more diſpatch in this expedition, becauſe advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progreſs, and increaſed in ſtrength by taking all the fortreſſes which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, ſeeing Judas's ſucceſs, had ſent expreſſes, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, on which Judæa depended; and had preſſed him, by letter, to employ ſuch meaſures as might beſt ſupport the intereſts of their common ſovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lyſias. A reſolution was therefore immediately taken, to ſend an army,

* *He was then but ſeven years old.*

army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generaliſſimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; ſent him before, at the head of twenty thouſand men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of conſummate experience, to aſſiſt him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were ſoon followed by Ptolemy, with the reſt of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jeruſalem. It conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe.

Thither alſo repaired an army of another kind. It conſiſted of merchants who came to purchaſe the ſlaves, who, it was ſuppoſed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of levying large ſums of money by this means, ſufficient to pay * the two thouſand talents which the king ſtill owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, publiſhed a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the priſoners taken in that war ſhould be ſold, at the rate of ninety for a talent †. A reſolution indeed had been taken to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the reſt to a ſtate of captivity; and one hundred and eighty thouſand of the latter, at the price abovementioned, would have ſold exactly for the ſum in queſtion. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them (as it was a very low price) flocked thither in crowds, and brought conſiderable ſums with them. We are told that a thouſand, all of them very conſiderable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occaſion, without including their domeſticks and the perſons they ſhould want to look after the captives they intended to purchaſe.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of ſo powerful an army, which, they knew, had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewiſh nation, reſolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themſelves,

* *About three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.* † *A thouſand crowns.*

ſelves, their law, and their liberty; and, either to conquer, or die ſword in hand. Accordingly they divided the ſix thouſand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himſelf at the head of the firſt, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maſpha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his aſſiſtance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, becauſe, as Jeruſalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the ſanctuary trampled upon, they could not aſſemble in it to ſolemnize that religious act; and Maſpha ſeemed the fitteſt place for that purpoſe, becauſe God was worſhipped there before the foundation of the temple.

(*u*) Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each ſide very unequal, and the diſpoſition of their minds ſtill more ſo. (*x*) They agree, however, in one point, that is, both are firmly perſuaded they ſhall gain the victory; the one becauſe they have a mighty army of well-diſciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, becauſe they put their whole truſt in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the (*y*) law, that thoſe who had built a houſe that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's ſix thouſand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheleſs this valiant captain of the people of God, reſolutely determined to fight the mighty hoſt of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the iſſue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his ſoldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the preſent conjuncture ſupplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they muſt prepare for it.

But receiving advice that ſame evening, that Gor-

(*u*) Judges xx. 1. (*x*) 1 Reg. vii. 5. (*y*) Deut. xx. 5, &c.

gias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, all choſen troops; and that he was marching a by-way, through which the apoſtate Jews led him, in order to come and ſurpriſe his camp in the night; he was not ſatiſfied with fruſtrating that deſign, but even made uſe of the very ſtratagem which the enemy intended to employ againſt him, and was ſucceſsful in it. For, raſing his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the beſt troops having been detached from it; and ſpread ſuch terrour and confuſion into every part of it, that after three thouſand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the reſt fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was ſtill at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wiſe captain, kept his troops together; and would not ſuffer them to ſtraggle about after plunder, or in purſuit of the enemy, till they ſhould have defeated that body alſo. He was ſucceſsful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having ſought for him in vain in the mountains whither he ſuppoſed he had retired, withdrew at laſt into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his ſoldiers ſtraggling and flying away, it was impoſſible for him to keep them in order; ſo that theſe threw down their arms and fled alſo. Then Judas, and the men under his command, purſued them vigorouſly, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occaſion, than they had before done in the camp. Nine thouſand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greateſt part of thoſe who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas, marched back his ſoldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immenſe booty; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themſelves taken priſoners and ſold. The next day, being the ſabbath, was ſolemnized in the moſt religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occaſion, gave themſelves up

to

to an holy joy; and unanimouſly returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and ſignal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a ſenſible image of the feeble oppoſition which the human arm is able to make againſt that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully ſenſible of his own weakneſs. *How can we*, ſays he to the Almighty before the battle, *ſtand before them, unleſs thou thyſelf aſſiſteſt us?* And it is as evident that he was no leſs firmly perſuaded of the ſucceſs of his arms. *The victory* (he had ſaid above) *does not depend on the number of ſoldiers, but it is from heaven that all our ſtrength comes.* But although Judas had ſo entire a confidence in God, he employs all thoſe expedients which the moſt experienced and braveſt general could uſe in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! To pray with humility, becauſe all things depend on God; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.—— We are ſtill poſſeſſed (thanks to the Almighty) of generals who believe it glorious to entertain ſuch thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, compoſed of as brave ſoldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almoſt unparralleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all thoſe human advantages, but ſolely on the protection of the God of armies.

(*z*) Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and re-inforced by a great number of troops whom this ſucceſs brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to diſtreſs the reſt of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raiſing troops to fight him, he marched againſt them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thouſand of their men.

(*a*) Lyſias hearing of the ill ſucceſs which Antio- A. M. 3839.

chus's Ant. J. C. 165.

(*z*) 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

(*a*) 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joſeph Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

chus's arms had met with in Judæa, and the great loſſes he had ſuſtained in that country, was in great aſtoniſhment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a ſtrong deſire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition againſt the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of ſixty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, all choſen troops; and putting himſelf at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly reſolved to lay waſte the whole country, and to deſtroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethſura, a city ſtanding to the ſouth of Jeruſalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thouſand men; and, fully perſuaded that the Lord would aſſiſt him, he engaged the enemy with his inconſiderable body of troops, killed five thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight. Lyſias, diſmayed at the ſurpriſing valour of Judas's ſoldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; intending, nevertheleſs, to come and attack them again the next year with a ſtill more powerful body of forces.

(*b*) Judas, being left maſter of the field by the retreat of Lyſias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jeruſalem, where he recovered the ſanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the ſervice of God. This ſolemn dedication continued a week, all which was ſpent in thankſgiving for the delivery that God had vouchſafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniverſary of it ſhould be ſolemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the proſperity of the Jews, made a league to deſtroy them; and reſolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. (*c*) This prince was then in Perſia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches;

(*b*) 1 Maccab. iv. 35—61. & v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. (*c*) 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

riches; and eſpecially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius ſays was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, prodigious ſums were laid up. He went thither, with a deſign to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jeruſalem. But his deſign having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a ſhameful repulſe. Antiochus, thunder-ſtruck at this diſgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he ſet out with all poſſible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and deſtruction. Advancing in this diſpoſition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, freſh expreſſes came to him with advice of Lyſias's defeat, and alſo that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had ſet up in them, and re-eſtabliſhed their ancient worſhip. At this news his fury increaſed. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmoſt ſpeed, in order that he might have an opportunity to ſatiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jeruſalem the burying-place of the whole Jewiſh nation, and not to leave one ſingle inhabitant in it. He had ſcarce uttered that blaſphemous expreſſion, but he was ſtruck by the hand of God. He was ſeiſed with incredible pains in his bowels, and the moſt exceſſive pangs of the cholick. *Thus the murtherer and blaſphemer*, ſays the author of the Maccabees, *having ſuffered moſt grievouſly, as he treated other men, ſo died he a miſerable death, in a ſtrange country in the mountain.*

But ſtill his pride was not abated by this firſt ſhock: ſo far from it, that ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away by the wild tranſports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance againſt the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all poſſible ſpeed in the journey.

But as his horſes were running forwards impetuouſly, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruiſed, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; ſo that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he ſuffered inexpreſſible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his fleſh fell away piecemeal, and the ſtench was ſo great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himſelf unable to bear it, (*d*) *It is meet*, ſays he *to be ſubject unto God; and man who is mortal, ſhould not think of himſelf as if he were a god.* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Iſrael which ſtruck him, becauſe of the calamities he had brought upon Jeruſalem, he promiſes to exert his utmoſt liberality towards his choſen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jeruſalem which he had plundered; to furniſh, from his revenues, the ſums neceſſary for defraying the expence of the ſacrifices; to turn Jew himſelf; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publiſh the power of the Almighty. He hoped he ſhould calm his wrath by theſe mighty promiſes, which the violence of his preſent affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in queſtion, (*e*) *This wicked perſon vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.* And indeed this murtherer and blaſphemer (theſe are the names which the writer of the Maccabees ſubſtituted in the place of *illuſtrious*, which men had beſtowed on that prince) being ſtruck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finiſhed an impious life by a miſerable death *.

Before he expired, he ſent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had beſtowed on him the regency of Syria during

(*d*) 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

(*e*) Ibid. c. xiii.

* *Polybius atteſts the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that ſpectres ſtood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This hiſtorian, who was unacquainted with the ſcriptures, aſſigns as the cauſe of this puniſhment, the ſacrilegious attempt, formed by this prince againſt the temple of Diana in Elymais.* Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145.

during the minority of his ſon, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the ſeal of the empire, and all the other enſigns of royalty; exhorting him, eſpecially, to employ his utmoſt endeavours to give him ſuch an education as would beſt teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his ſubjects with juſtice and moderation. Few princes give ſuch inſtructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having ſet them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip cauſed the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had ſat eleven years on the throne.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of* DANIEL *relating to* ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent perſecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewiſh church; and was, at the ſame time, the type of the Antichriſt, who, in after ages was to afflict the Chriſtian church; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy conſiſts of two parts, one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the perſecution carried on by him againſt the Jews. We ſhall treat theſe ſeparately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

(*f*) *And in his* (Seleucus Philopator's) *eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* This verſe, which points out the acceſſion of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

(*g*) *And with the arms of a flood ſhall they* (the Syrians) *be overflown before him* (Antiochus Epiphanes)

(*f*) Dan. xi. 21. (*g*) Ver. 22.

and ſhall be broken; yea, alſo the prince of the covenant. Heliodorus, the murtherer of Seleucus and his adherents, as alſo thoſe of the Egyptian king, who had formed deſigns againſt Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and diſperſed by the arrival of Antiochus, whoſe preſence diſconcerted all their projects. By the *prince of the covenant*, we may ſuppoſe to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ring-leader of the conſpirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who loſt his life by a conſpiracy of his own ſubjects, when he was meditating a war againſt Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adverſary, to make way for Antiochus, and raiſe him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verſes, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

Antiochus's *firſt* Expedition *into* Egypt.

(h) *And after the league made with him* (with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew king of Egypt) *he ſhall work deceitfully; for he ſhall come up, and ſhall become ſtrong with a ſmall people.* Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war; *he yet ſhall aſſume a ſpecious appearance of friendſhip for the king of Egypt.* He even ſent to Appollonius to Memphis, to be preſent at the banquet given on occaſion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheleſs, ſoon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a *ſmall army*, in compariſon of thoſe which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Peluſium. Antiochus *was ſtrongeſt*, that is, victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his firſt expedition.

Antiochus's *ſecond* Expedition *into* Egypt.

(i) *He ſhall enter peaceably even upon the fatteſt places of the province* (Egypt) *and he ſhall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers; he ſhall ſcatter*

(h) Dan. xi. 23. (i) Ver. 24.

ſcatter among them (his troops) *the prey and ſpoil and riches; yea, and he ſhall forecaſt his devices againſt the ſtrong holds, even for a time.*

(*k*) *And he ſhall ſtir up his power and his courage againſt the king of the South* (of Egypt) *with a great army, and the king of the South ſhall be ſtirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he ſhall not ſtand; for they ſhall forecaſt devices againſt him.*

(*l*) *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his* (the king of Egypt's) *meat, ſhall deſtroy him, and his army ſhall overflow; and many ſhall fall down ſlain.*

In theſe three verſes appear the principal characters of Antiochus's ſecond expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conqueſts, the rich ſpoils he carried from thence, and the diſſimulation and treachery he began to practiſe with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a ſecond expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by ſea and land, the inſtant the ſeaſon would permit. (*m*) *Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horſemen, and a great navy.———And made war againſt Ptolemy king of Egypt: But Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled; and many were wounded to death.——Thus they got the ſtrong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the ſpoils thereof.*

Daniel, ſome verſes after, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

(*n*) *And at the time of the end ſhall the king of the South puſh at him* (Ptolemy is here hinted at;) *and the king of the North* (Antiochus) *ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horſemen, and with many ſhips, and he ſhall enter into the countries, and ſhall overflow and paſs over.*

(*o*) *He ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land, and many countries ſhall be overthrown: But he ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.*

He

(*k*) Dan. xi. 25. (*l*) Ver. 26. (*m*) 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.
(*n*) Dan. xi. 40. (*o*) Ver. 41.

(*p*) *He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon the countries, and the land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape.*

(*q*) *But he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and over the precious things of Egypt*, &c.

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect reſemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the hiſtorian.

(*r*) Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it: For all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He ſubdued Egypt with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, and did that (*s*) *which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers.*

Ptolemy either ſurrendered himſelf, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at firſt treated him with kindneſs; had but one table with him, ſeemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, reſerving to himſelf Peluſium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus aſſumed this appearance of friendſhip with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. (*t*) *They that feed of the portion of his meat ſhall deſtroy him.*

Antiochus did not make a long ſtay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march againſt them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raiſed Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his ſtead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had paſſed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of reſtoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom.

(*p*) Dan. xi. 42. (*q*) Ver. 43. (*r*) In Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 310.
(*s*) Dan. xi. 24. (*t*) Ver. 26.

ANTIOCHUS's *third* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

(*u*) *And both theſe kings hearts ſhall be to do miſchief; and they ſhall ſpeak lies at one table; but it ſhall not proſper: For yet the end ſhall be at the time appointed.*

(*x*) *Then ſhall he* (Antiochus) *return into his land with great riches.*

Antiochus's third expedition could ſcarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raiſed Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring Philometor: (*y*) *Per honeſtam ſpeciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians, in a ſea-fight at Peluſium, he laid ſiege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a ſtrong oppoſition, he was contented with making himſelf maſter of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whoſe defence he pretended to have drawn the ſword: (*z*) *Cui regnum quæri ſuis viribus ſimulabat.* They were then at Memphis, eat at the ſame table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a ſincere friendſhip. The uncle ſeemed to have his nephew's intereſt at heart, and the nephew to repoſe the higheſt confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere ſhow and outſide, both diſſembling their real ſentiments. The uncle endeavoured to cruſh his nephew: (*a*) *Cui regnum quæri ſuis viribus ſimulabat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur*; and the nephew, who ſaw through his deſign, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus*, ſtrove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither ſucceeded in deceiving of the other: Nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

ANTIOCHUS's *fourth* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

(*b*) *At the time appointed he ſhall return and come toward the South, but it ſhall not be as the former, or as the latter.*

For

(*u*) Dan. xi. 27. (*x*) Ver. 28. (*y*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 19.
(*z*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. Hieron. in Daniel. (*a*) Liv. ibid.
(*b*) Dan. xi. 29.

(c) *For the ſhips of Chittim ſhall come againſt him: Therefore he ſhall be grieved and return, and have indignation againſt the holy covenant.*

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the maſk, and declared publickly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himſelf. And, to ſupport his pretenſions, *he returned towards the South*, that is, into Egypt, but was not ſo ſucceſsful in this expedition as before. (d) As he was advancing forward to beſiege Alexandria, Popilius, and the other Roman ambaſſadors, who were on board a fleet compoſed of Macedonian or Greek ſhips (for this the Hebrew word Chittim ſignifies) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but *with the utmoſt reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jeruſalem feel the dire effects of his indignation*, as will be preſently ſeen.

Had the prophet been eye-witneſs to this event, would it have been poſſible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. Cruel perſecution exercised by Antiochus againſt the Jews, and foretold by the prophet Daniel.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and thoſe of his four ſucceſſors.

(e) *Behold an he-goat came from the weſt, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground.* ——— Could it have been poſſible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts? (f) *The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.* Theſe are Alexander's four ſucceſſors. (g) *And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, towards the South, and*

(c) Dan. xi. 30. (d) Liv. l. xlv. n. 10. (e) Dan. viii. 5.
(f) Ver. 8. (g) Ver. 9.

and toward the Eaſt and toward the preſent land. This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained ſeveral victories towards the South and the Eaſt, and who ſtrongly oppoſed the army of the Lord and the Jewiſh people, of whom God was the ſtrength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed againſt the people of God, the prieſts of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

(*h*) *And it waxed great* (the horn) *even to the hoſt of heaven, and it caſt down ſome of the hoſt, and of the ſtars to the ground, and ſtamped upon them.*——(*i*) *Yea, he magnified himſelf even to the prince of the hoſt* (to God;) *and by him the daily ſacrifice was taken away, and the place of his ſanctuary was caſt down.*——(*k*) *And an hoſt was given him againſt the daily ſacrifice by reaſon of tranſgreſſion, and it caſt down the truth to the ground, and it practiſed and proſpered.*

Daniel gives ſtill greater extent to the ſame prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

(*l*) *His heart ſhall be againſt the holy covenant; and he ſhall do exploits.*——*He ſhall return, and have indignation againſt the holy covenant.*

(*m*) During the ſiege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accuſed of expreſſing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, ſtormed it, and exerciſed all the barbarity that his fury could ſuggeſt. About forty * thouſand men were killed, and the ſame number ſold as ſlaves, in the compaſs of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the veſſels, treaſures, and rich ornaments.

(*n*) After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occaſion againſt the Jews. He ſent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to ſell the women and children. Accordingly,

(*h*) Dan. viii. 10. (*i*) Ver. 11. (*k*) Ver. 12. (*l*) Dan. xi. 28. 30. (*m*) 1 Maccab. i. 21—24. & ii. 5—21. Joſeph. Lib. de Maccab. &c. (*n*) 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. and ii. 24—26.

* *We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.*

ingly, Apollonius made dreadful havock in Jeruſalem, ſet fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

(*o*) *He ſhall return, and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy covenant.*——*And arms ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the ſanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall place the abomination that maketh deſolate.*——*And ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall be corrupt by flatteries*, &c.

(*p*) Antiochus declared openly for all thoſe who ſhould renounce the law. Having publiſhed an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he ſent ſome officers to Jeruſalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and aboliſh the worſhip of the Moſt High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his ſtatue in it. They raiſed in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer ſacrifices, and eat of meats ſacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, ſeemed to comply in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their baſe apoſtacy.

(*q*) *And ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall* Antiochus *corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God, ſhall be ſtrong and do exploits.* This manifeſtly points at old Eleazar, the ſeven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageouſly oppoſed the impious orders of the king.

(*r*) *And they that underſtand among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by the ſword, and by flame, by captivity, and by ſpoil many days.* This relates chiefly to Matthias, and his ſons.

(*s*) *Now when they ſhall fall they ſhall be holpen with a little help: but many ſhall cleave to them with flatteries.* Mat-

(*o*) Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32. (*p*) 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1. &c. (*q*) Dan. xi. 32. (*r*) Ver. 33. (*s*) Ver. 34.

Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus ſupported the diſtreſſed nation, and the almoſt-univerſally abandoned religion, with ſo ſmall a number of forces, that we can conſider the ſucceſs which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwiſe than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very conſiderable body.

(*t*) *And ſome of them of underſtanding ſhall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; becauſe it is yet for a time appointed.* The ſufferings and death of thoſe, who ſtedfaſtly refuſed to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

(*u*) *And the king ſhall do according to his will, and he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify himſelf above every god, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation be accompliſhed: For that that is determined ſhall be done.*

(*x*) *Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the deſire of women, nor regard any god: For he ſhall magnify himſelf above all.*

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exerciſed his impious fury chiefly againſt Jeruſalem and the Jews, and almoſt without any reſiſtance. The Almighty ſeemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath againſt his people was ſatisfied.

(*y*) *But tidings out of the Eaſt, and out of the North, ſhall trouble him: therefore he ſhall go forth with great fury to deſtroy, and utterly to make away many.*

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the Eaſt, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus

(*t*) Dan. xi. 35. (*u*) Ver. 36. (*x*) Ver. 37. (*y*) Ver. 44.

* Antiochus demere ſuperſtitionem & mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibatus eſt: nam ea tempeſtate Arſaces defecerat, *Tacit.* l. v. c. 8.

Antiochus had formed a reſolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. (z) Before he ſet out for the provinces on the other ſide of the Euphrates, he gave Lyſias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his abſence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to ſettle other nations in their country.

(a) *He ſhall plant the tabernacles of his palace* [* in Apadno] *between the ſons in the glorious holy mountain* [of Zabi]; *yet he ſhall come to his end, and none ſhall help him.* This verſe, which is tranſlated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, becauſe of the two words *Apadno* and *Zabi*, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up theſe kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reaſon to ſuſpect, imagined that this verſe alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greateſt part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be ſatisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus ſhall pitch his camp near mount *Zabi* (doubtleſs the ſame with *Taba* †, where, according to (b) Polybius, he died) and that there he *ſhall come to his end*, being abandoned by God, and having none to *help him.* We have ſeen how he expired, in the moſt cruel agonies, and ſtruck with an unavailing repentance, which only increaſed his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and ſeveral interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel ſpeaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another ſenſe, as alluding to Antichriſt. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the moſt ſenſible,

as

(z) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39.

(a) Dan. xi. 45. (b) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145.

* N. B. *The words between the crotchets in this verſe are not in our Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible.*

† *Taba, according to Polybius, was in Perſia; and in Paretacena, according to Quintius Curtius.*

as well as moſt expreſſive, types of that enemy of Chriſt Jeſus and our holy religion.

It is impoſſible for us, whilſt we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiouſly ſtruck to ſee the juſtneſs and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteriſticks of a king, whoſe hiſtory is ſo much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reaſon the holy ſpirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a tranſient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells ſo long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, ſo very remote, and which depended on ſo many arbitrary circumſtances! How manifeſtly did the ſpirit, which preſented futurity to his view, ſhow it him as preſent, and in as clear a light, as if he had ſeen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the ſcriptures, and, by a neceſſary conſequence, the certainty of the Chriſtian religion, become, by ſuch proofs, in a manner palpable and ſelf-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in ſo clear, ſo perfect, and ſo conſpicuous a manner as this. Porphyry *, the profeſſed enemy of the Chriſtian religion, as well as of the Old and New Teſtament, being infinitely perplexed in finding ſo great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the beſt hiſtorians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to ſenſe, and denying the ſhining of the ſun at noonday. However he took another courſe, in order to undermine the authority of the ſcriptures. He himſelf laboured, by citing all the hiſtorians extant at that time, and which are ſince loſt, to ſhow, in a very extenſive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that ſo exact a detail of ſo great a number of events, could not poſſibly have been written by Da-

* *Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre,* A. D. 233. *and wrote a very voluminous treatiſe againſt the Chriſtian religion.*

niel ſo many years before they happened; and that this work muſt certainly have been written by ſome perſon who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this conteſt between the Chriſtian and Heathens, the former would indiſputably carry their cauſe, could they be able to demonſtrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanſwerably, by citing the teſtimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whoſe evidence could not be ſuſpected or diſallowed, as they were ſtill greater enemies to the Chriſtian religion than the Heathens themſelves. The reverence they had for the ſacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depoſitaries and guardians, was ſo prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and ſacrilegious wretch, who ſhould have attempted only to tranſpoſe a ſingle word, or change one letter in it; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who ſhould pretend to introduce any ſuppoſititious books in them? Such are the witneſſes who atteſted the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs ſo convincing, or cauſe ſo victorious? (c) *Thy teſtimonies are very ſure—O* LORD, *for ever.*

(c) Pſal. xciii. v.

BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS.

This nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first, the history of PERSEUS, *the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world* 3836. *The second article goes on from the defeat of* PERSEUS *to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world* 3858, *and includes something more than twenty one years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost an hundred years from* ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, *son of* ANTIOCHUS EUPIPHANES, *to* ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS, *under whom Syria became part of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world* 3840, *to* 3939. *The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years, from the twentieth year of* PTOLEMÆUS PHILOMETOR *till the expulsion of* PTOLEMÆUS AULETES, *that is, from the year of the world* 3845, *to the year* 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826, to 3837.

SECT. I. PERSEUS *prepares ſecretly for a war againſt the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His ſecret meaſures not unknown at Rome.* EUMENES *arrives there, and informs the ſenate of them.* PERSEUS *attempts to rid himſelf of that prince, firſt by aſſaſſination, and afterwards by poiſon. The Romans break with* PERSEUS. *Different opinions and diſpoſitions of the kings and ſtates in regard to the Macedonian war. After ſeveral embaſſies on both ſides, the war is declared in form.*

A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178. THE death of Philip (*a*) happened very opportunely for ſuſpending the war againſt the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a ſtrange deſign, and had already began to put it in execution; which was, to bring a conſiderable body of troops, both horſe and foot, from European Sarmatia (part of Poland). Certain Gauls had ſettled near the mouths of the Boryſthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Baſtarnæ. That people were neither accuſtomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce: they lived by war, and ſold their ſervices to any people that would employ them. After having paſſed the Danube, Philip was to have ſettled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had reſolved utterly to exterminate; becauſe, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occaſion for making irruptions into it. The Baſtarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new ſettlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themſelves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the ſucceſs might be, Philip conceived he ſhould find great advantages in it: if it ſhould happen that the Baſtarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he ſhould eaſily be conſoled for their defeat, in ſeeing himſelf delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy ſucceeded, whilſt the Romans were employed in repulſing theſe new enemies, he ſhould have time to recover all he

(*a*) Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oroſ. l. iv. c. 20.

he had loſt in Greece. The Baſtarnæ were already upon their march and were conſiderably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and ſeveral accidents that befel them, ſuſpended their firſt deſign, and they diſperſed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his ſucceſſor, had been employed againſt his will in negociating this affair. At his return, Perſeus put him to death, and to aſſure himſelf the better of the throne, ſent ambaſſadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the ſenate would acknowledge him king. His ſole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Baſtarnæ (*b*) had purſued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perſeus excuſed himſelf by his ambaſſadors, and repreſented that he had not ſent for them, and had no ſhare in their enterpriſe. The ſenate, without making any further enquiry into the affair, contented themſelves with adviſing him to take care that he obſerved inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Baſtarnæ, after having gained ſome advantages at firſt, were at length reduced, the greateſt part of them at leaſt, to return into their own country. It is ſaid, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to paſs it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were ſwallowed up in the river. A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175.

It was known at Rome (*c*), that Perſeus had ſent ambaſſadors to Carthage, and that the ſenate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æſculapius. It was thought proper to ſend ambaſſadors into Macedonia to obſerve the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the * Dolopians, who refuſed to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced toward Delphos, upon pretence of conſulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negociate alliances. This journey at firſt alarmed the whole country, and occaſioned A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174.

(*b*) Frienſheim in Liv. (*c*) Liv. l. xli. n. 27—29.

* *Dolopia was a region of Theſſaly, upon the confines of Epirus.*

ſioned ſo general a conſternation, that even Eumenes did not think himſelf ſafe in Pergamus. But Perſeus, as ſoon as he had conſulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, paſſing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Theſſaly, without committing any hoſtilities in his march. He afterwards ſent either ambaſſadors or circular letters to all the ſtates through which he had paſſed, to demand that they would forget ſuch ſubjects of diſcontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himſelf with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and reſentment ſo high againſt the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the ſlaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an aſſured aſylum, and knew they ſhould not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perſeus cauſed all theſe ſlaves to be ſeiſed, and ſent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their ſlaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-eſtabliſhment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and deſired to make his court to the king, ſeconded his demand very ſtrongly, and was ſupported by thoſe who were moſt ſollicitous for recovering their ſlaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal perſons of the aſſembly, who was convinced that the ſafety of the league conſiſted in the inviolable obſervance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, repreſented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilſt that kingdom was making preparations to declare war againſt Rome as ſoon as poſſible. He concluded, that it was neceſſary to leave things in their preſent condition, till time ſhould explain whether their fears were juſt or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-eſtabliſh commerce with them; without

out which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who ſpoke after Callicrates, did his utmoſt to prove, that ſuch terrours were without foundation; that the queſtion was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perſeus, and much leſs to break with the Romans, but ſolely to reverſe a decree, for which the injuſtice of Philip might have given room, but which Perſeus, who had no ſhare in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deſerving. That that prince could not but be aſſured, that in caſe of a war againſt the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But (added he) whilſt "the peace ſubſiſts, if animoſities and diſſenſions are "not made to ceaſe entirely, it is at leaſt reaſonable to "ſuſpend them, and to let them ſleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this aſſembly. As it was taken amiſs that the king had contented himſelf with only ſending them a letter; he afterwards ſent ambaſſadors to the aſſembly, which had been ſummoned to Megalopolis. But thoſe who apprehended giving Rome offence, uſed ſuch effectual means, that they were refuſed audience.

The ambaſſadors (*d*) ſent by the ſenate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get acceſs to the king, upon pretence that he was ſometimes abroad, and ſometimes indiſpoſed; a double evaſion equally falſe. That for the reſt, it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reaſonable to expect it would ſpeedily break out. They gave an account alſo of the ſtate in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domeſtick diviſions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vaſt diſorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeaſing the perſons at the head of them. A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongſt the Romans always preceded declarations

(*d*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 2, 5, 6.

tions of war; that is to ſay, by expiation of prodigies, and various ſacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambaſſadors whom the ſenate had ſent into Greece. After having appeaſed as much as poſſible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponneſus, where he cauſed the aſſembly of the Achæans to be ſummoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having conſtantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perſeus.

That prince inceſſantly ſollicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embaſſies and magnificent promiſes, far exceeding his power to perform. They were ſufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great ſervices to moſt of thoſe cities; and thoſe of his own dominions would not have changed condition with ſuch as were entirely free. There was, however, no compariſon between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perſeus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accuſed of having murthered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whoſe aid he had uſed in deſtroying his brother; and of having committed many other murthers, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himſelf amiable by his tenderneſs for his brothers and relations; by his juſtice in governing his ſubjects; and by his generous propenſity to do good, and to ſerve others. Notwithſtanding this difference of character, they gave Perſeus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inſpired them with contempt for a ſtate, whoſe origin was wholly recent, and which they had ſeen take birth; or that the Greeks had ſome change in view; or becauſe they were pleaſed with having ſome ſupport in him to hold the Romans in reſpect.

Perſeus (*e*) was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of ſeparating them from

(*e*) Polyb. Legat. lx, lxi.

from the party from Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to ſhare the Macedonian throne with Perſeus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perſeus had furniſhed the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every ſoldier and ſeaman who came with Laodice. A ſentence paſſed by Rome in favour of the Lycians againſt the people of Rhodes, had extremely exaſperated the latter. Perſeus endeavoured to take the advantage of their reſentment againſt Rome, to attach them to himſelf.

The (f) Romans were not ignorant of the meaſures taken by Perſeus to bring over the ſtates of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expreſsly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. He declared, that beſides his deſire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an eſtabliſhment which left him nothing to wiſh, he had undertaken this voyage expreſsly, to adviſe the ſenate in perſon to be upon their guard againſt the enterpriſes of Perſeus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of ſucceſſion. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, ſupplied him with the means of raiſing numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himſelf, in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and had ſince much exerciſed himſelf in different enterpriſes againſt his neighbours. That he was highly conſidered by the cities of Greece and Aſia; without ſeeming to have any ſort of merit to ſupport ſuch credit, except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had eſpouſed the daughter of Seleucus, and given his ſiſter in marriage to Pruſias. That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his

A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172.

(f) Liv. l. xlii. n. 11—14.

his intereſt, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the oppoſition of a few perſons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perſeus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domeſtick troubles, and not to the Romans. That ſupported by theſe powerful allies, he made ſuch preparations of war himſelf, as put him into a condition to diſpenſe with any foreign aid. That he had thirty thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and proviſions for ten years. That beſides his immenſe annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thouſand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning thoſe of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arſenals a ſufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia ſhould be incapable of ſupplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhauſtible nurſery of ſoldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon ſimple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the beſt information. "For the reſt," ſaid he, in concluding, "having diſcharged the duty "which my regard and gratitude for the Roman peo-"ple made indiſpenſable, and delivered my conſcience, "it only remains for me to implore all the gods "and goddeſſes, that they would inſpire you with "ſentiments and meaſures conſiſtent with the glory of "your empire, and the preſervation of your friends "and allies, whoſe ſafety depends upon yours."

The ſenators were much affected with this diſcourſe. Nothing that paſſed in the ſenate, except that king Eumenes had ſpoken, was known abroad, or ſuffered to take air at firſt; ſo inviolably were the deliberations of that auguſt aſſembly kept ſecret.

The ambaſſadors from king Perſeus had audience ſome days after. They found the ſenate highly prejudiced againſt their maſter, and what Harpalus, one of them, ſaid in his ſpeech, enflamed them ſtill more againſt him. It was, that Perſeus deſired to be believed

lieved upon his own word, when he delared he had neither done nor ſaid any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the reſt, if he diſcovered that they were obſtinately bent upon a rupture with him, he ſhould know how to defend himſelf with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Aſia, anxious for the effect which theſe embaſſies might produce at Rome, had alſo ſent deputies thither under different pretexts, eſpecially the Rhodians, who ſuſpected that Eumenes had joined them in his accuſation againſt Perſeus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently againſt Eumenes, reproaching him with having ſtirred up Lycia againſt the Rhodians, and of having rendered himſelf more inſupportable to Aſia, than Antiochus himſelf. This diſcourſe was very agreeable to the Aſiatick people, who ſecretly favoured Perſeus, but very much diſpleaſed the ſenate, and had no other effect than to make them ſuſpect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher conſideration, from this kind of conſpiracy which they ſaw formed againſt him. He was diſmiſſed in conſequence with the higheſt honours, and great preſents.

Harpalus *(g)* having returned into Macedonia with the utmoſt diligence, reported to Perſeus, that he had left the Romans in a diſpoſition not to defer long a declaration of war againſt him. The king was not ſorry upon that account, believing himſelf in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to ſupport it with ſucceſs. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he ſuſpected that Rome had been appriſed of his moſt ſecret meaſures, and began with declaring againſt him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the moſt criminal treachery. He diſpatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occaſions, to aſſaſſinate that prince. Perſeus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed

(g) Liv. l. xlii. n. 15—19.

directed his aſſaſſins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whoſe houſe he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambuſh in a narrow defile, where two men could not paſs a-breaſt. When the king came there, the aſſaſſins rolled two great ſtones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without ſenſe, and the other wounded him conſiderably in the ſhoulder; after which they poured an hail of leſſer ſtones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who ſtaid to aſſiſt him. The aſſaſſins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnaſſus. His officers found him when they returned, without motion, and almoſt without life. When he came a little to himſelf, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the iſland of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with ſo much ſecrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reaſon to believe him dead. That report ſpread even to Aſia. Attalus gave credit to it too ſoon for a good brother, and, looking upon himſelf already as king, was preparing to eſpouſe the widow. Eumenes, at their firſt interview, could not forbear making him ſome gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at firſt reſolved to diſſemble his ſenſe of his brother's imprudence.

Perſeus had attempted at the ſame time to poiſon him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brunduſium, who received in his houſe all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who paſſed through that city. The king put into his hands a very ſubtle poiſon, for him to give Eumenes, when he ſhould come to his houſe. Rammius did not dare to refuſe this commiſſion, whatever horrour he had for it, leaſt the king ſhould make a trial of the draught upon himſelf; but he ſet out with a full reſolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embaſſy into Macenonia, he went to him, diſcovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius alſo car-

ried Praxo thither along with him, at whoſe houſe the aſſaſſins had lodged in Delphos. When the ſenate had heard theſe two witneſſes, after ſuch black attempts, they thought it unneceſſary to deliberate longer upon declaring war againſt a prince, who made uſe of aſſaſſinations and poiſon to rid himſelf of his enemies, and proceeded to take due meaſures for the ſucceſs of ſo important an enterpriſe.

Two ambaſſadors, who arrived at Rome about the ſame time, gave the ſenate great pleaſure. The firſt came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He ſent the ſon, whom he intended for his ſucceſſor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earlieſt infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himſelf in the great art of reigning, by the converſation and ſtudy of their great men; and he deſired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of diſtinction that could be ſhown him, and the ſenate cauſed a commodious houſe to be provided for him at the expence of the publick. The other embaſſy was from the Thracians, who deſired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As ſoon as Eumenes (*b*) was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himſelf in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The ſenate ſent ambaſſadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had eſcaped, and diſpatched others at the ſame time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They ſent alſo to Perſeus to make their complaints, and to demand ſatisfaction. Theſe ambaſſadors, ſeeing they could not have audience for many days, ſet out in order to return to Rome. The king cauſed them to be recalled. They repreſented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that he ſhould not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions

(*b*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 25—27.

ventions to that treaty, and demanded that reſtitution ſhould be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with inſupportable haughtineſs, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their ſlaves. Upon their demanding a poſitive anſwer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The ſubſtance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not becauſe he approved it, but becauſe he could do no otherwiſe, not being ſufficiently eſtabliſhed upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propoſe reaſonable conditions, he ſhould conſult what it was neceſſary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambaſſadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they ſhould take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the reſult of their embaſſy; and added, that they had obſerved, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they paſſed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambaſſadors that had been ſent to the kings, their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Aſia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that ſhould be deſired of them. The ſenate would not grant audience to the ambaſſadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accuſed of holding intelligence with Perſeus; and deferred hearing thoſe from the Rhodians, who had alſo rendered themſelves ſuſpected, till the new conſuls entered upon their office. However, not to loſe time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty gallies, to ſail as ſoon as poſſible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Craſſus and C. Caſſius Longinus, were elected conſuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as well of Europe as Aſia, had their eyes fixed on the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred againſt Perſeus, and ſtill more by the new crime, which had almoſt coſt him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Pruſias, king of Bithynia, had reſolved to ſtand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himſelf, that the Romans would not inſiſt upon his taking up arms againſt his wife's brother, and hoped if Perſeus were victorious, that prince would eaſily acquieſce in his neutrality at the requeſt of his ſiſter.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, beſides having promiſed to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes eſpouſed, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of Egypt, relying upon the weakneſs of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of thoſe who had the care of his perſon and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plauſible pretext for making war upon that prince, by diſputing Cœloſyria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obſtruct his ambitious deſires. He had, however, declared to the ſenate by his ambaſſadors, that they might diſpoſe of all his forces, and had repeated the ſame promiſe to the ambaſſadors the Romans had ſent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to reſolve for himſelf. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœloſyria, and promiſed to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Maſſiniſſa ſupplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to ſend his ſon Miſagenes

to

to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his deſire to poſſeſs himſelf of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impoſſible to execute that project, becauſe they would never ſuffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which caſe he ſhould continue in his preſent condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conqueſts, and at that time ſupported Carthage, ſhould happen to be reduced, he expected, in conſequence, to make himſelf maſter of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himſelf much ſuſpected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he ſhould chooſe; and it ſeemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odryſæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the diſpoſition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the ſtates and free cities, the populace were univerſally inclined in favour of Perſeus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the perſons in authority amongſt thoſe people were divided into three claſſes. Some of them abandoned themſelves ſo abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them, they loſt all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of theſe, few concerned themſelves about the juſtice of the Roman government; moſt of them having no views but to their private intereſt, convinced that their power in their cities would ſubſiſt in proportion to the ſervices they ſhould render the Romans. The ſecond claſs was of thoſe, who gave entirely into the king's meaſures; ſome, becauſe their debts, and the bad eſtate of their affairs, made them deſire a change; others, becauſe the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perſeus valued himſelf, agreed beſt with their own little pride and vanity. A third claſs, which were the moſt prudent and judicious, if it were abſolutely

lutely neceſſary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been beſt ſatisfied, that neither of the parties ſhould become too powerful by reducing the other; and preſerving a kind of equality and balance, ſhould always continue in peace: Becauſe then, one of them, by taking the weaker ſtates under its protection, whenever the other ſhould attempt to oppreſs them, would render the condition of them all more happy and ſecure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they ſaw, as from a place of ſafety, the battles and dangers of thoſe who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable cuſtom, diſcharged all the duties of religion, offered ſolemn prayers and ſacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy ſucceſs of the enterpriſe they had been ſo long preparing for, declared war in form againſt Perſeus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate ſatisfaction in regard to the ſeveral grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the ſame time arrived ambaſſadors from him, who ſaid, that the king their maſter was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the ſenate all the ſatisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perſeus ſought only to gain time, they were anſwered, that the conſul Licinius would be ſoon in Macedonia with his army, and that if the king deſired peace in earneſt, he might ſend his ambaſſadors to him, but that he need not give himſelf the trouble of ſending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themſelves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans (*i*) omitted nothing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of their arms. They diſpatched ambaſſadors on all ſides to their allies, to animate and confirm thoſe who perſiſted to adhere to them, to determine ſuch as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate thoſe who appeared inclined to break with them.

(*i*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 37—44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

Whilſt they were at Lariſſa in Theſſaly, ambaſſadors arrived there from Perſeus, who had orders to addreſs themſelves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambaſſadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendſhip his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their maſter. Marcius anſwered, that his father had often ſpoke of king Philip's friendſhip and hoſpitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither ſome days after. The king had a great train, and was ſurrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambaſſadors were no leſs attended; many of the citizens of Lariſſa, and of the deputies from other ſtates, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleaſed with that occaſion of carrying home what they ſhould ſee and hear. They had beſides a curioſity to be preſent at an interview between a great king and the ambaſſadors of the moſt powerful people in the world.

After ſome difficulties which aroſe about the ceremonial, and were ſoon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly reſpectful on both ſides. They did not teach each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Marcius, who ſpoke firſt, began by excuſing himſelf for the unhappy neceſſity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the higheſt conſideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the cauſes of complaint the Roman people had againſt him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He inſiſted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with profeſſing, that he ſhould be very glad the king would ſupply him with good reaſons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cauſe, and juſtify him before the ſenate.

Perſeus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he ſeemed aſtoniſhed that any one ſhould preſume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to ſo many others of that prince's enemies,

enemies entered into a long diſcourſe, and replied, in the beſt manner poſſible, to the ſeveral heads of the accuſation againſt him. "Of this I am * aſ-"ſured," ſaid he concluding, "that my conſcience "does not reproach me with having commited any "fault knowingly, and with premeditated deſign, "againſt the Romans; and if I have done any thing "unwarily appriſed as I now am, it is in my power "to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to de-"ſerve the implacable enmity with which I am pur-"ſued, as guilty of the blackeſt and moſt enormous "crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. "It muſt be without foundation, that the clemency "and wiſdom of the Roman people is univerſally ex-"tolled, if for ſuch ſlight cauſes, as ſcarce merit "complaint and remonſtrance, they take up arms, "and make war upon kings in alliance with them."

The reſult of this conference was, that Perſeus ſhould ſend new ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to try all poſſible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a ſnare laid by the artful commiſſioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at firſt great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perſeus, for time to ſend his ambaſſadors to Rome, and ſeemed at laſt to give into it only out of conſideration for the king. The true reaſon was, becauſe the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas, on the ſide of Perſeus, every thing was ready; and if he had not been amuſed by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture ſo favourable for himſelf, and ſo contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview, the Roman ambaſſadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great com-

* Conſcius mihi ſum, nihil me ſcientem deliquiſſe? & ſi quid fecerim imprudentia lapſus, corrige me & emendari caſtigatione hac poſſe. Nihil certe inſanabile, nec quod bello & armis perſequendum eſſe cenſeatis, commiſi: aut fruſtra clementiæ gravitatiſque veſtræ fama vulgata per gentes eſt, ſi talibus de cauſis, quæ vix querela, & expoſtulatione dignæ ſunt, arma capitis, & regibus ſociis bella infertis. *Liv.*

motions; ſome declaring for Perſeus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the conſent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient cuſtom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having raſhly engaged in the party of Perſeus, after having formed through a long courſe of time a republick, which on ſeveral occaſions had preſerved itſelf from the greateſt dangers, ſaw themſelves ſeparated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the ſequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at firſt. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much eaſier to bring them into their meaſures, and ſubject them by that means, than if their union ſubſiſted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, perſiſted in the alliance with Perſeus.

From Bœotia the commiſſioners went into Peloponneſus. The aſſembly of the Achæan league was ſummoned to Argos. They demanded only a thouſand men to garriſon Chalcis, till the Roman army ſhould enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the ſame time Rome ſent (*k*) new commiſſioners into the moſt conſiderable iſlands of Aſia, to exhort them to ſend powerful aid into the field againſt Perſeus. The Rhodians ſignalized themſelves upon this occaſion. Hegeſilochus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magiſtrate was ſo called) had prepared the people, by repreſenting to them, that it was neceſſary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impreſſions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inſpire the Romans, in regard to their fidelity

(*k*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 45—48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv.—lxviii.

fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambaſſadors, they ſhowed them a fleet of forty ſhips entirely equipped, and ready to ſail upon the firſt orders. This agreeable ſurpriſe was highly pleaſing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly ſatisfied with ſo diſtinguiſhed a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perſeus, in conſequence of his interview with Marcius, ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to treat there upon what had been propoſed in that conference. He diſpatched other ambaſſadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had paſſed in the interview, and deduced at large the reaſons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as ſpectators, only till they ſaw what reſolutions the Romans would take.—" If, contrary to the treaties " ſubſiſting between us, they attack me, you will be " (ſaid he) the mediators between the two nations. " All the world is intereſted in their continuing to " live in peace, and it behoves none more than you " to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders, not " only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece; " the more zeal and ardour you have for ſo great a " good, the more ought you to be upon your guard " againſt whomſoever ſhould attempt to inſpire you " with different ſentiments. You cannot but know, " that the certain means * to reduce Greece into " ſlavery, is to make it dependent upon one people " only, without leaving it any other to have recourſe " to." The ambaſſadors were received with great reſpect; but were anſwered, That in caſe of war, the king was deſired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The ſame ambaſſadors went alſo into Bœotia, where they had almoſt as little reaſon to be ſatisfied; only a few

* Cum cæterorum id intereſſe, tum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ ſerva atque obnoxia fore, ſi nullus alio ſit quam ad Romanos reſpectus. *Liv.*

ſmall (*l*) cities ſeparating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the ſenate the ſucceſs of their commiſſion. They dwelt particularly upon the addreſs of their ſtratagem to deceive Perſeus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their ſucceſs in diſſolving the general aſſembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common conſent.

The greateſt part of the ſenate expreſſed great ſatisfaction in ſo wiſe a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negociation. But the old ſenators, who had imbibed other principles, and perſevered in their ancient maxims, ſaid, They did not ſee the Roman character ſuſtained in ſuch dealing. That their anceſtors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, uſed to make war openly, and not in diſguiſe and under cover; that ſuch unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That, indeed, ſtratagem ſometimes, in the moment of action, ſeemed to ſucceed better than valour; but that a victory obtained vigorouſly in a battle, where the force of the troops on each ſide was tried as near as poſſible, and which the enemy could not aſcribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more laſting effect, becauſe it left a ſtrong conviction of the victor's ſuperior force and bravery.

Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances of the ancient ſenators, who could not reliſh theſe new maxims of policy, that part of the ſenate which preferred the uſeful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occaſion, and the conduct of the two commiſſioners was approved. Marcius was ſent again with

(*l*) Coronæa and Haliartus.

with ſome gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he ſhould think moſt conſiſtent with the ſervice of the publick; and Atilius into Theſſaly, to take poſſeſſion of Lariſſa, leſt, upon the expiration of the truce, Perſeus ſhould make himſelf maſter of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was alſo ſent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perſeus was reſolved at Rome, the ſenate gave audience to his ambaſſadors. They repeated the ſame things which had been ſaid in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to juſtify their maſter principally upon the attempt he was accuſed of having made on the perſon of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the ſenate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The conſul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as ſoon as poſſible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, ſet out with five-and-forty gallies from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land-forces.

SECT. II. *The conſul* LICINIUS *and king* PERSEUS *take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at ſome diſtance from each other. Fight of the horſe, in which* PERSEUS *has conſiderably the advantage, and makes an ill uſe of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both ſides go into winter-quarters.*

THE conſul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, ſet out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the cuſtom. The departure of the conſuls, ſays Livy, was always attended with great ſolemnity, and an incredible concourſe of people, eſpecially upon an important war, and againſt a powerful enemy. Beſides the intereſt every particular might have in the glory of the conſul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curioſity to ſee the general, to A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171.

whoſe prudence and valour the fate of the republick was confided. A thouſand anxious thoughts preſented themſelves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wiſdom and courage of their generals. "What mortal, (ſaid "they) can know the fate of a conſul at his depar-"ture; whether we ſhall ſee him with his victorious "army return in triumph to the Capitol, from whence "he ſets out, after having offered up his prayers to "the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in "his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himſelf famous by his wars, and particularly by that againſt the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perſeus; and every body knew, that from his ſucceſſion to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of ſuch thoughts, the citizens conducted the conſul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been conſuls, did not think it below them to ſerve in his army in quality of military tribunes (or as colonels or brigadiers) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The conſul repaired in their company to Brunduſium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and paſſing the ſea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perſeus, ſome days before, upon the return of his ambaſſadors from Rome, and their aſſuring him, that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it neceſſary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans inſiſted upon it; in a word, to ſuffer every thing ſupportable for the ſake of peace, rather than expoſe his perſon and kingdom to the danger of entire deſtruction. That, if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures,

tures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had loſt, but to render him formidable to thoſe, who at preſent made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They inſiſted, that by making ceſſion of a part, he muſt determine to loſe all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but univerſal empire. That they knew the greateſt kingdoms and moſt powerful empires were ſubject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking poſſeſſion of its territories; contenting themſelves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Maſſiniſſa. That they had driven Antiochus and his ſon beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head againſt the Romans. That prudence requires Perſeus, whilſt he was ſtill maſter of it, ſeriouſly to conſider with himſelf, whether by making the Romans ſometimes one conceſſion, and ſometimes another, he was reſolved to ſee himſelf deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to aſk, as a favour of the Romans, permiſſion to retire, and confine himſelf in Samothracia, or ſome other iſland, there to paſs the reſt of his days in contempt and miſery, with the mortification of ſurviving his glory and empire; or whether he would chooſe to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity as became a man of courage; and in caſe of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the univerſe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Beſides, was it conſiſtent for Perſeus, after having oppoſed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to uſurp his crown, to reſign it meanly to ſtrangers, that endeavoured to wreſt it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without reſiſtance, nor more laudable,

ble, than to have uſed all poſſible endeavours to preſerve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. *Since you think it ſo neceſſary*, ſaid the king, *let us make war then with the help of the gods.* He gave orders at the ſame time to his generals, to aſſemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went ſoon after himſelf, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a ſacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army aſſembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty nine thouſand foot; of whom almoſt half compoſed the phalanx, and four thouſand horſe. It was agreed, that ſince the army Alexander the Great led into Aſia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one ſo numerous.

It was twenty-ſix years ſince Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any conſiderable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already began to exerciſe and form themſelves in the wars Macedonia had ſupported againſt the Thracians their neighbours. Philip beſides, and Perſeus after him, had long before formed the deſign of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we ſpeak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perſeus, before he took the field, thought it neceſſary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his two ſons on each ſide of him, ſpoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to reſolve to take up arms againſt them; but that deſign a ſudden death had prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that preſently after the death of Philip, the Romans had ſent ambaſſadors to him, and at the ſame time marched troops into Greece, to take poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places,

places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amuſed him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the ſpecious pretext of negociating a reconciliation. He compared the conſul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his ſenſe, was much ſuperior to the other, not only in the number and valour of their troops, but in ammunition and proviſions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. "It remains therefore, "Macedonians," ſaid he, in concluding, "only to "act with the ſame courage your anceſtors ſhowed, "when, having triumphed over all Europe, they "croſſed into Aſia, and ſet no other bounds to their "conqueſts, than thoſe of the univerſe. You are "not now to carry your arms to the extremities of "the Eaſt, but to defend yourſelves in the poſſeſſion "of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans "attacked my father, they covered that unjuſt war "with the falſe pretence of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient "liberty of Greece; the preſent they undertake with-"out any diſguiſe, to reduce and enſlave Macedonia. "That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman "empire ſhould have any king for its neighbour, nor "that any warlike nation ſhould have arms for their "defence. For you may be aſſured, if you refuſe to "make war, and will ſubmit to the orders of thoſe "inſulting maſters, that you muſt reſolve to deliver "up your arms with your king and his kingdom to "them."

At theſe words the whole army, which had expreſſed no immoderate applauſe for the reſt of his diſcourſe, raiſed cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the beſt hopes, and demanding earneſtly to be led againſt the enemy.

Perſeus then gave audience to the ambaſſadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and proviſions for the occaſions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindeſt manner, but did not accept their offers; giving

giving for his reaſon, that the army was abundantly provided with all things neceſſary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after ſome days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city ſituated at the foot of mount Oeta; the conſul's was at Gomphi in Theſſaly, after having ſurmounted the moſt incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almoſt impracticable. The Romans themſelves confeſſed, that had the enemy defended thoſe paſſes, they might eaſily have deſtroyed their whole army in them. The conſul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the ſame time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brother Attalus and Athenæus: Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the conſul with four thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe. They had left Athenæus with two thouſand foot at Chalcis, to re-inforce the garriſon of that important place. The allies ſent alſo other troops, though in numbers ſufficiently inconſiderable, and ſome gallies. Perſeus, in the mean time, ſent out ſeveral detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes that if the conſul ſhould quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might ſurpriſe and attack him to advantage; but he was diſappointed, and obliged to content himſelf with diſtributing the booty he had made amongſt his ſoldiers, which was very conſiderable, and conſiſted principally in cattle of all ſorts.

The conſul and king held each of them a council at the ſame time, in order to reſolve in what manner to begin the war The king, highly proud of having been ſuffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without oppoſition, thought it adviſeable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loſs of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their ſlowneſs and delays

delays would diſcredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themſelves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilſt they were conſulting upon the meaſures it was neceſſary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being preſent) a courier came in upon the ſpur, and informed them the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The ſignal was immediately given for the ſoldiers to ſtand to their arms, and an hundred horſe detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perſeus, at ten in the morning, finding himſelf no farther from the Roman camp than a ſmall half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horſe and light-armed ſoldiers. He had ſcarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, againſt which he ſent a ſmall detachment of horſe, ſupported by ſome light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither ſide ſent any freſh troops to their aid, the ſkirmiſh ended without its being poſſible to ſay which ſide was victorious. Perſeus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the ſame hour, Perſeus advanced with all his troops to the ſame place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within ſix leagues of the place; the way was very duſty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping cloſe in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their entrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the ſame ſeveral days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was began, that they might face about. As the king's horſe and light-armed foot were very much ſuperior to thoſe of the Romans, they aſſured themſelves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The

The firſt deſign not ſucceeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the ſame place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thouſand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot, towards the camp of the Romans. The duſt, which flew nearer than uſual, and was raiſed by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the firſt who brought the news, could ſcarce find belief that the enemy was ſo near; becauſe for ſeveral days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the ſun at that time was juſt riſing. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confuſion. All the officers repaired with the utmoſt haſte to the general's tent, as the ſoldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the conſul, ſo ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whoſe nearneſs to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perſeus had drawn up his troops at leſs than five hundred paces from the conſul's entrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odryſæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horſe of his nation; the light-armed troops were diſtributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horſe formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horſe and thoſe of the auxiliaries were poſted. The king kept the center with the horſe that always attended his perſon; before whom were placed the ſlingers and archers, to about four hundred in number.

The conſul having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which conſiſted of all the Italian horſe, was commanded by C. Licinius Craſſus, the conſul's brother; the left, compoſed of the horſe of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius

Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was poſted in the center, with a ſelect body of horſe; two hundred Gallick horſe, and three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Theſſalian horſe were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reſerved body. King Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were poſted in the ſpace between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almoſt equal on both ſides, and might amount to about four thouſand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the ſlings and miſſive weapons, which were poſted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beaſts long ſhut up, and thereby the more furious, threw themſelves firſt upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not ſupport ſo rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongſt them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their ſwords, ſometimes cutting the legs of the horſes, and ſometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perſeus, who attacked the center of the enemy, ſoon put the Greeks into diſorder; and as they were vigorouſly purſued in their flight, the Theſſalian horſe, which, at a ſmall diſtance from the left wing, formed a body of reſerve, and in the beginning of the action had been only ſpectators of the battle, was of great ſervice, when that wing gave way. For thoſe horſe, retiring gently, and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a ſafe retreat between their ranks to thoſe who fled and were diſperſed; and when they ſaw the enemy was not warm in their purſuit, were ſo bold as to advance to ſuſtain and encourage their own party. As this body of horſe marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the purſuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias

Hippias and Leonatus, having learned the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorouſly puſhing the enemy, and charging them in their entrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared, indeed, that had the king made the leaſt effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the preſent ardour of his troops, and terrour into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter muſt have been entirely defeated. Whilſt he was deliberating with himſelf, between hope and fear, upon what he ſhould reſolve, Evander * of Crete, in whom he repoſed great confidence, upon ſeeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perſeus, and earneſtly begged of him not to abandon himſelf to his preſent ſucceſs, nor engage raſhly in a new action, that was not neceſſary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He repreſented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himſelf with the preſent advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or, if he ſhould chooſe to continue the war, his firſt ſucceſs would infallibly determine thoſe, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praiſed the counſel and zeal of Evander, he cauſed the retreat to be ſounded for his horſe, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans loſt two thouſand of their light-armed infantry, at leaſt, in this battle, and had two hundred of their horſe killed, and as many taken priſoners. On the other ſide, only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot-ſoldiers, were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; eſpecially the Thracians, who with ſongs of triumph carried the heads of thoſe they had killed upon the end of their pikes: it was to them Perſeus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound ſorrow, kept a mournful ſilence, and

* *Perſeus made uſe of him in the intended aſſaſſination of Eumenes.*

and filled with terrour, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other ſide of the Peneus, in order that the river might ſerve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panick. The conſul was averſe to taking that ſtep, which, as an open profeſſion of fear, was highly diſhonourable to himſelf and his army; but, however, being convinced by reaſon, he yielded to neceſſity, paſſed with his troops by favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perſeus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he ſaw them intrenched on the other ſide of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before in not purſuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confeſſed it a ſtill greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For, without putting the reſt of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy during their confuſion and diſorder in paſſing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at leaſt part of their army.

We ſee here, in a ſenſible example, to what cauſes revolutions of ſtates, and the fall of the greateſt empires, owe their being. There is no reader but muſt have been ſurpriſed at ſeeing Perſeus ſtop ſhort in a deciſive moment, and let ſlip an almoſt certain occaſion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity or penetration to diſtinguiſh ſo groſs a fault. But how came it to paſs, that Perſeus, who wanted neither judgement nor experience ſhould be ſo much miſtaken? A notion is ſuggeſted to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, raſh, and abſurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the deſtruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, ſuffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breaſt, and removes every thought, which might, and naturally ought to

have induced him to take quite different meaſures. Nor is that ſufficient. The firſt fault might have been eaſily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God ſeems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound ſleep. Not one of his officers has the leaſt thought of obſerving the motions of the enemy in the night. We ſee nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy ſcripture teaches us to think otherwiſe, and what was ſaid of Saul's ſoldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: *And no man ſaw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: For they were all aſleep, becauſe a deep ſleep from the Lord was fallen upon them,* 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, ſaw themſelves no longer in danger of being ſuddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the ſharpeſt affliction. All who were preſent in the council of war aſſembled by the conſul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was ſaid, that they were the firſt who took the alarm and fled; that the reſt of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the firſt who took to flight, The Theſſalians, on the contrary, were praiſed for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with ſeveral marks of honour.

The ſpoils taken from the Romans were not inconſiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, a thouſand cuiraſſes, and a much greater number of helmets, ſwords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great preſents of them to the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt; and having aſſembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was an happy preſage for them and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horſe, in which the principal force of their army conſiſted, and

which

which they had before believed invincible; and promiſed himſelf from thence a more conſiderable ſucceſs over their infantry, who had only eſcaped their ſwords by a ſhameful flight during the night; but that it would be eaſy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them ſhut up. The victorious ſoldiers, who carried the ſpoils of the enemies they had ſlain upon their ſhoulders, heard this diſcourſe with ſenſible pleaſure, and promiſed themſelves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the paſt. The foot, on their ſide, eſpecially that which compoſed the Macedonian phalanx prompted by a laudable jealouſy, pretended at leaſt to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the firſt occaſion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and paſſion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king after having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, ſet forward the next day, paſſed the river, and encamped at Mopſium an eminence ſituate between Tempe and Lariſſa.

The joy for the good ſucceſs of ſo important a battle affected Perſeus at firſt in all its extent. He looked upon himſelf as ſuperior to a people, who alone were ſo in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by ſurpriſe, and in a manner ſtolen by ſtratagem and addreſs, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own ſight, and under his own conduct. He had ſeen the Roman haughtineſs give way before him three times in one day; at firſt in keeping cloſe, out of fear in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, in ſhamefully betaking themſeves to flight; and, laſtly, by flying again, during the obſcurity of the night, and in finding no other ſecurity, but by being encloſed within their intrenchments, the uſual refuge of terrour and apprehenſion. Theſe thoughts were highly ſoothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his firſt tranſports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of ſudden joy was ſomewhat evaporated, Perſeus came to himſelf, and reflecting in

cool blood upon all the conſequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in ſome ſort of terrour. The wiſeſt of the courtiers about him, (*l*) takeing advantage of ſo happy a diſpoſition, ventured to give him the counſel of which it made him capable; this was, to make the beſt of his late ſucceſs, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They repreſented to him, that the moſt certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the preſent favours of fortune, nor abandon himſelf to the deluſive glitter of proſperity. That therefore he would do well to ſend to the conſul, and propoſe a renovation of the treaty, upon the ſame conditions impoſed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more glorious for himſelf, than after ſo memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occaſion of concluding a ſure and laſting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if notwithſtanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, ſhould reject a juſt and equitable accommodation, he would at leaſt have the conſolation of having the gods and men for witneſſes of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciouſneſs of the Romans.

The king gave in to theſe wiſe remonſtrances, to which he ever was averſe. The majority of the council alſo applauded them. Ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent to the conſul, who gave them audience in the preſence of a numerous aſſembly. They told him They came to demand peace; that Perſeus would pay the ſame tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the anſwer it was proper to make. The Roman conſtancy ſhowed itſelf upon this occaſion in an extraordinary

(*l*) Polyb. Legat. lxix.

dinary manner. It was the cuſtom * at that time to expreſs in adverſity all the aſſurance and loftineſs of good fortune, and to act with moderation in proſperity. The anſwer was, That no peace could be granted to Perſeus, unleſs he ſubmitted himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of the ſenate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at ſo extraordinary, and, in their ſenſe, ſo ill-timed a pride; moſt of them believed it needleſs to talk any further of peace, and that the Romans would be ſoon reduced to demand what they now refuſed. Perſeus was not of the ſame opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not ſo haughty, but from a conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority; and that reflexion daunted him exceedingly. He ſent again to the conſul, and offered a more conſiderable tribute than had been impoſed upon Philip. When he ſaw the conſul would retract nothing from his firſt anſwer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perſeus, that he muſt have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his ſtrength and reſources with thoſe of the Romans. To believe himſelf happy, and after a ſignal victory to demand peace, and ſubmit to more oppreſſive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, ſeems to argue, that he had taken his meaſures, and concerted the means to ſucceſs very ill, ſince after a firſt action entirely to his advantage, he begins to diſcover all his weakneſs and inferiority, and in ſome ſort inclines to deſpair. Why then was he the firſt to break the peace? Why was he the aggreſſor? Why was he in ſuch haſte? Was it to ſtop ſhort at the firſt ſtep? How came he not to know his weakneſs, till his own victory ſhowed it him? Theſe are not the ſigns of a wiſe and judicious prince.

* Ita tum mos erat in adverſis moderati animos in ſecundis, vultum ſecundæ fortunæ gerere, *Liv.*

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which ſoon ſpread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and diſcovered in full light to which ſide they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partizans of Macedonia, but even by moſt of thoſe the Romans had obliged, of whom, ſome ſuffered with pain their haughty manners, and inſolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the ſame time beſieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia (*m*). After a long and vigorous defence it was taken at laſt by ſtorm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demoliſhed. Thebes ſoon after ſurrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perſeus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harraſſing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thouſand carriages, laden principally with ſheafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made ſix hundred priſoners. He afterwards attacked a ſmall body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himſelf maſter with little or no difficulty; but he found more reſiſtance than he had imagined. That ſmall body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence, defended himſelf there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than ſurrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the conſul arrived to his aſſiſtance with a great detachment of horſe and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The ſight of the conſul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perſeus immediately ſent for his phalanx; but the conſul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after haveing made a very vigorous reſiſtance for ſome time, were at laſt broke and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of

(*m*) Liv. l. xlii, n. 64—67.

of the beſt horſe, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himſelf, Antimachus, was killed.

The ſucceſs of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perſeus. After having put a ſtrong garriſon into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The conſul having reduced Perrhœbia, and taken Lariſſa and ſome other cities, diſmiſſed all the allies, except the Achæans; diſperſed his troops in Theſſaly, where he left them in winter-quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the requeſt of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incurſions.

SECT. III. *The ſenate paſs a wiſe decree to put a ſtop to the avarice of the generals and magiſtrates, who oppreſſed the allies. The conſul* MARCIUS, *after ſuſtaining great fatigue, enters Macedonia.* PERSEUS *takes the alarm, and leaves the paſſes open: He reſumes courage afterwards. Inſolent embaſſy of the Rhodians to Rome.*

NOTHING memorable paſſed the following year (*n*). The conſul Hoſtilius had ſent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thouſand foot, to defend ſuch of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thouſand men, raiſed amongſt the allies, to his firſt body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Daſſaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uſcana, which belonged to Perſeus, and where he had a great garriſon. Claudius, upon the promiſe which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it, with almoſt all his troops, without any order, diſtruſt, or precaution. Whilſt he thought leaſt of it, the garriſon made a furious ſally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and purſued them a great way with dreadful ſlaughter. Of eleven thouſand men, ſcarce two thouſand eſcaped into the camp, which a thouſand

A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170.

(*n*) Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.

had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loſs very much afflicted the ſenate, and the more, becauſe it had been occaſioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was (o) the almoſt univerſal diſeaſe of the commanders at that time. The ſenate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, againſt the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciouſneſs and cruelty. They puniſhed ſome of them, redreſſed the wrongs they had done the cities, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors well ſatisfied with the manner in which their remonſtrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent ſuch diſorders for the future, they paſſed a decree, which expreſſed, that the cities ſhould not furniſh the Roman magiſtrates with any thing more than what the ſenate expreſsly appointed; which ordnance was publiſhed in all the cities of Peloponneſus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commiſſion, went firſt to Thebes, where they very much praiſed the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponneſus, they boaſted every where of the lenity and moderation of the ſenate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great diviſions in almoſt all the cities, eſpecially amongſt the Ætolians, occaſioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The aſſembly of Achaia was not exempt from theſe diviſions; but the wiſdom of the perſons of greateſt authority prevented their conſequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal perſons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers againſt the republick, and to avoid the misfortunes into which thoſe were fallen, who had not ſufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice

(o) Polyb. Legat. lxxiv. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

advice prevailed, and it was reſolved, that Archon ſhould be made chief magiſtrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horſe.

About this time Attalus, having ſomething to demand of the Achæan league, cauſed the new magiſtrate to be founded; who, determinate in favour of the Romans and their allies, promiſed that prince to ſupport his ſuit with all his power. The affair in queſtion was, to have a decree reverſed, by which it was ordained, that all the ſtatues of king Eumenes ſhould be removed from the publick places. At the firſt council that was held, the ambaſſadors of Attalus were introduced to the aſſembly, who demanded, that in conſideration for the prince who ſent them, Eumenes his brother ſhould be reſtored to the honours the republick had formerly decreed him. Archon ſupported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius ſpoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and ſervices of Eumenes, demonſtrated the injuſtice of the firſt decree, and concluded that it was proper to repeal it. The whole aſſembly applauded his diſcourſe, and it was reſolved that Eumenes ſhould be reſtored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome (*p*) ſent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterpriſes againſt Egypt, which we have mentioned before. A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two conſuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he ſet out, Perſeus had conceived the deſign of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition againſt Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reaſon to fear irruptions during the king's being employed againſt the Romans. This expedition ſucceeded very happily for him, and almoſt without any loſs on his ſide. He began with the ſiege of Uſcana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and

(*p*) Liv. l. xliii. n. 11, & 18—23. Polyb. Legat. lxxvi, lxxvii.

and took it, after a defence of ſome duration. He afterwards made himſelf maſter of all the ſtrong places in the country, the moſt part of which had Roman garriſons in them, and took a great number of priſoners.

Perſeus, at the ſame time, ſent ambaſſadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averſe to it; but he obſerved that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare againſt the Romans; which was explaining himſelf ſufficiently. Perſeus, who was avaricious, did not underſtand, or rather affected not to underſtand, his demand; and ſent a ſecond embaſſy to him, without mention of money; and received the ſame anſwer. Polybius obſerves, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean ſoul, and entirely diſhonours a prince, made many of his enterpriſes miſcarry, and that if he would have ſacrificed certain ſums, and thoſe far from conſiderable, he might have engaged ſeveral republicks and princes in his party. Can ſuch a blindneſs be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius conſiders it as a puniſhment from the gods.

Perſeus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very ſtrong city of Ætolia, above the gulph of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would ſurrender it as ſoon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw ſuccours into the place.

Early in the ſpring the conſul Marcius left Rome, and went to Theſſaly, from whence, without loſing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully aſſured, that it was neceſſary to attack Perſeus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report (*q*) that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magiſtrate of the Achæans, to juſtify his country from the ſuſpicions

(*q*) Polyb. Legat. lxx.

ons and bad reports that had been propagated againſt it, adviſed the Achæans to paſs a decree, by which it ſhould be ordained, that they ſhould march an army into Theſſaly, and ſhare in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raiſe troops, and to make all the neceſſary preparations. It was afterwards reſolved, that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the conſul, to acquaint him with the reſolution of the republick, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army ſhould join him. Polybius, our hiſtorian, with ſome others, was charged with this embaſſy. They found the Romans had quitted Theſſaly, and were encamped in Perrhœbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the rout it was neceſſary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of ſpeaking to the conſul, and ſhared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perſeus (*r*), who did not know what rout the conſul would take, had poſted conſiderable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to paſs. For himſelf, he encamped with the reſt of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without much deſign.

Marcius, after long deliberation, reſolved to paſs the foreſt that covered part of the country called Octolopha. He had incredible difficulties to ſurmount, the ways were ſo ſteep and impracticable, and had ſeiſed an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his paſſage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not diſtant above a thouſand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila might be diſcovered; which very much animated the ſoldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themſelves. Hippias, whom the king had poſted to defend this paſs with a body of twelve thouſand men, ſeeing the eminence poſſeſſed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the conſul, who advanced with his whole army, harraſſed his troops

(*r*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 1—10.

troops for two days, and diſtreſſed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble not being able either to advance with ſafety, or retreat without ſhame or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to purſue an undertaking with vigour, formed, perhaps, with too much boldneſs and temerity, and which could not ſucceed without a determinate perſeverance, often crowned in the end with ſucceſs. It is certain, that if the conſul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perſeus inſtead of ſending freſh troops to ſupport Hippias, the cries of whoſe ſoldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in perſon to attack the enemy, amuſed himſelf with making uſeleſs excurſions with his horſe into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themſelves from the bad affair in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they affected this; the horſes laden with the baggage ſinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almoſt every ſtep they took. The elephants eſpecially gave them great trouble: it was neceſſary to find ſome new means for their deſcent in ſuch extremely ſteep places. Having cleared the ſnow on theſe deſcents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the diſtance of ſomething more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon thoſe beams they laid planks of thirty feet length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the firſt bridge, leaving ſome interval, they erected a ſecond, then a third, and ſo on to as many of the ſame kind as were neceſſary. The elephant paſſed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams inſenſibly that ſupported it, and let him gently down with the bridge; he went on in that manner to the ſecond, and all the

reſt. It is not eaſy to expreſs the fatigues they underwent in this paſs, the ſoldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, becauſe it was impoſſible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itſelf out of danger.

As the conſul (*s*) ſeemed then to have entirely overcome the greateſt difficulty of his enterpriſe, Polybius thought this a proper time for preſenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to aſſure him of their reſolution to join him with all their forces, and to ſhare with him in all the labours and dangers of this war: Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good will in the kindeſt terms, told them, they might ſpare themſelves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would diſpenſe with both; and that, in the preſent poſture of affairs, he had no occaſion for the aid of his allies. After this diſcourſe, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army till the conſul, having received advice that Appius, ſurnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of five thouſand men to be ſent him into Epirus, diſpatched him home, with advice, not to ſuffer his republick to furniſh thoſe troops, or engage in expences entirely unneceſſary, as Appius had no reaſon to demand that aid. It is difficult, ſays the hiſtorian, to diſcover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for ſparing the Achæans, or laying a ſnare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

While the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his reſolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence

(*s*) Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

defence of the paſſes; ſent * the gilt ſtatues at Dium on board his fleet, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treaſures, laid up at Pella, ſhould be thrown into the ſea, and all his gallies at Theſſalonica burnt. For himſelf, he returned to Pydna.

The conſul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impoſſible to diſengage himſelf without the enemy's permiſſion. There was no paſſing for him, but by two foreſts; by the one he might penetrate through the vallies of Tempe into Theſſaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both theſe important poſts were poſſeſſed by ſtrong garriſons for the king. So that if Perſeus had only ſtaid ten days without taking fright, it had been impoſſible for the Romans to have entered Theſſaly by Tempe, and the conſul would have had no paſs for proviſions to him. For the ways through Tempe are bordered by ſuch vaſt precipices, that the eye could ſcarce ſuſtain the view of them without dazzling. The king's troops guarded this paſs at four ſeveral places, of which the laſt was ſo narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive proviſions by the narrow paſſes of Tempe, nor to get through them, muſt have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having poſſeſſed themſelves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; which † would have been no leſs difficult, if the gods, ſays Livy, had not deprived Perſeus of prudence and counſel. For in making a foſſé with entrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have abſolutely ſhut them out, and ſtopped them ſhort. But in the blindneſs, into which his fear had thrown the king,

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* *Theſe were the ſtatues of the horſe-ſoldiers killed in paſſing the Granicus, which Alexander had cauſed to be made by Lyſippus, and to be ſet up in Diem.*

† Quod niſi dii mentem regi ademiſſent, ipſum ingentis difficultatis erat. *Liv.*

he neither ſaw, nor did, any thing of all the means in his power to ſave himſelf, left all the paſſes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The conſul perceived aright, that he owed his ſafety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Lariſſa, to ſeiſe the poſts bordering upon Tempe, which Perſeus had abandoned, to ſecure a retreat in caſe of accident; and ſent Popilius to take a view of the paſſes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly ſurpriſed, that the king had abandoned it ſo eaſily. He continued his march, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, almoſt without any reſiſtance. But the farther he advanced, the leſs proviſions he found, and the more the dearth increaſed; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was alſo reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find proviſions in abundance. His quitting Dium ſuggeſted to Perſeus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had loſt by his fear. He repoſſeſſed himſelf therefore of that city, and ſoon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his ſide, beſieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league diſtant from Phila.

Perſeus, having recovered his fright, and reſumed ſpirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treaſures at Pella into the ſea, and burn all his ſhips at Theſſalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might ſoon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, leſs aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the ſea. But his fault was ſoon repaired by divers, who brought up almoſt the

the whole money from the bottom of the ſea. To reward their ſervices, the king cauſed them all to be put to death ſecretly, as he did Andronicus and Nicias; ſo much was he aſhamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himſelf, that he could not bear to have any witneſſes or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions paſſed on both ſides by ſea and land, which were neither of much conſequence or importance.

When Polybius (*t*) returned from his embaſſy into Peloponneſus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thouſand men, had been received there. Some time after, the council aſſembled at Sicyon, to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius, had been an inexcuſable fault. On the other ſide, it was dangerous to refuſe the Romans the troops they might have occaſion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themſelves in ſo delicate a conjuncture, they had recourſe to the decree of the Roman ſenate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unleſs an order of the ſenate was annexed to them, which Appius had not ſent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was ſent to Appius, it was neceſſary to inform the conſul of his demand, and to wait for his deciſion upon it. By that means Polybius ſaved the Achæans the ſum of an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns at leaſt.

In the mean time (*u*) arrived ambaſſadors at Rome, from Pruſias, king of Bithynia, and alſo from the Rhodians, in favour of Perſeus. The former expreſſed themſelves very modeſtly, declaring that Pruſias had conſtantly adhered to the Roman party, and ſhould continue to do ſo during the war; but that, having promiſed Perſeus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he deſired, if it were poſſible, that they would grant him that favour, and make ſuch uſe of his mediation as they ſhould

(*t*) Polyb. Legat. lxxviii. (*u*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 14—16.

ſhould think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having ſet forth, in a lofty ſtyle, the ſervices they had done the Roman people, and aſcribed to themſelves the greateſt ſhare in the victories they had obtained, and eſpecially in that over Antiochus, they added: That whilſt the peace ſubſiſted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negociated a treaty of alliance with Perſeus; that they had ſuſpended it againſt their will, and without any ſubject of complaint on the king's part, becauſe it had pleaſed the Romans to engage them on their ſide; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had ſuffered many inconveniences from it; that their trade by ſea being interrupted, the iſland found itſelf in great ſtraits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages ariſing from commerce; that being no longer able to ſupport ſuch conſiderable loſſes they had ſent ambaſſadors into Macedonia to king Perſeus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it neceſſary that he ſhould make peace with the Romans, and that they were alſo ſent to Rome to make the ſame declaration; that if either of the parties refuſed to come into ſo reaſonable a propoſal, the Rhodians ſhould know what they had to do.

It is eaſy to judge in what manner ſo vain and preſumptuous a diſcourſe was received. Some hiſtorians tell us, all the anſwer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the ſenate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their preſence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the moſt ſenſible part; for they pretended to an authority over both thoſe people. Others ſay, the ſenate anſwered in few words: That the diſpoſition of the Rhodians, and their ſecret intrigues with Perſeus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people ſhould have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they ſhould know in their turn what they had to do, and ſhould then treat their allies according to their reſpective

merits. They made the ambaſſadors, however, the uſual preſents.

The conſul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having ſuffered incredible difficulties in paſſing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wiſe precaution of the prætor, he had ſufficient proviſions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barley, for which it was neceſſary to pay their ambaſſadors then at Rome: That it was alſo neceſſary to ſend him clothes for the ſoldiers; that he wanted two hundred horſes, eſpecially from Numidia, becauſe there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All theſe articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Oneſimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always adviſed the king to obſerve the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the laſt day of his life, had cauſed his treaty with the Romans to be conſtantly read to him twice every day, he had admoniſhed him to do as much, if not with the ſame regularity, at leaſt from time to time. Not being able to diſſuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himſelf from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witneſs to the reſolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, ſeeing himſelf become ſuſpected, and tacitly conſidered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongſt the Romans, and had been of great ſervice to the conſul. Having made this relation to the ſenate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his ſubſiſtance.

SECT. IV. PAULUS ÆMILIUS *choſen conſul. He ſets out for Macedonia with the prætor* CN. OCTAVIUS, *who commanded the fleet.* PERSEUS *ſolicits aid on all ſides. His avarice loſes him conſiderable allies. The prætor* ANICIUS's *victories in Illyria.* PAULUS ÆMILIUS's *celebrated victory over* PERSEUS, *near the city of Pydna.* PERSEUS *taken with all his children. The command of* PAULUS ÆMILIUS *in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the ſenate, granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians.* PAULUS ÆMILIUS, *during the winter-quarters, viſits the moſt celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis, he gives a great feaſt. He marches for Rome. On his way he ſuffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of* PERSEUS. CN. OCTAVIUS *and* L. ANICIUS *have alſo the honour of a triumph decreed them.*

THE time for the comitia (*a*), or aſſemblies, to elect conſuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom ſo important a choice would fall, and nothing elſe was talked of in all converſations. They were not ſatisfied with the conſuls, who had been employed for three years againſt Perſeus, and had very ill ſuſtained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained againſt his father Philip, who had been obliged to ſue for peace; againſt Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was ſtill more conſiderable, againſt Hannibal, the greateſt general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than ſixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almoſt under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perſeus, and ſome advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehenſion of the Romans. They plainly diſtinguiſhed, that it was no

A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168.

(*a*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.

time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was neceſſary to chooſe a general for his wiſdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of preſiding in ſo important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world caſt their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when diſtinguiſhed merit unites the voices of the publick; and nothing is more affecting than ſuch a judgement, founded upon the knowledge of a man's paſt ſervices, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the ſtate's preſſing occaſion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near ſixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the leaſt, had rather improved them with maturity of wiſdom and judgement; more neceſſary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been conſul thirteen years before, and had acquired the general eſteem during his adminiſtration. But the people repaid his ſervices with ingratitude, having refuſed to raiſe him again to the ſame dignity, though he had ſolicited it with ſufficient ardour. For ſeveral years he had led a private and retired life, ſolely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever ſucceeded better, nor was more gloriouſly rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made inſtances to him to comply with the people's wiſhes, in taking upon him the conſulſhip: but believing himſelf no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in publick, kept himſelf at home, and ſhunned honours with as much ſollicitude as others generally purſue them. However, when he ſaw the people aſſemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they ſummoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly againſt his obſtinate refuſal to ſerve his country, he gave in at laſt to their remonſtrances, and appearing amongſt thoſe who aſpired to that dignity, he ſeemed leſs to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the aſſurance of an approaching and complete victory. The conſulſhip was conferred upon him unanimouſly, and, according to Plutarch, the

the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy ſays it fell to him by lot.

It is ſaid, that the day he was elected general in the war againſt Perſeus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on ſeeing him fell a crying bitterly. He embraced, and aſked her the cauſe of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, *You do not know then*, ſaid ſhe, *that our Perſeus is dead, papa.* She ſpoke of a little dog ſhe had brought up, called *Perſeus. And at a very good time, my dear child*, ſaid Paulus Æmilius, ſtruck with the word, *I accept this omen with joy.* The ancients carried their ſuperſtition upon this kind of fortuitous circumſtances very high.

The manner (*b*) in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the ſucceſs to be expected from it. He demanded, firſt, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into Macedonia to inſpect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troops which were neceſſary to be added both by ſea and land. They were alſo to inform themſelves, as near as poſſible of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the foreſts, or had entirely paſſed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had proviſions, and from whence they might be ſupplied with them either by land or water; what had paſſed during the laſt campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it neceſſary to be fully appriſed in all theſe circumſtances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted,

(*b*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 18—22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

without a perfect knowledge of them. The ſenate approved theſe wiſe meaſures very much, and appointed commiſſioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who ſet out two days after.

During their abſence, audience was given the ambaſſadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjuſt enterpriſes of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have been before related.

The commiſſioners had made good uſe of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the paſſes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual poſſeſſion of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being ſeparated only by the river Enipæus: that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines: that, to the other inconveniencies, a very ſevere winter had happened, from which they could not but ſuffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and, that they had only proviſions for ſix days: that the army of the Macedonians was ſuppoſed to amount to thirty thouſand men: that if Appius Claudius had been ſufficiently ſtrong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect againſt king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unleſs a conſiderable re-inforcement were immediately ſent him, or he ordered directly to quit the poſt he was in. That after having viſited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diſeaſes; that the reſt of the allies, eſpecially thoſe of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of ſeamen and ſoldiers: that thoſe who remained, had not received their pay, and had no clothes: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having juſt ſhown themſelves, diſappeared immediately, without any viſible cauſe; and

that

that it ſeemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on: but, that as for his brother Attalus, his good-will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commiſſioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the ſenate decreed, that he ſhould ſet forward without loſs of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to ſucceed Ap. Claudius in his poſt near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius conſiſted, amounted to twenty-five thouſand eight hundred men; that is, of two Roman legions, each compoſed of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horſe. He had, beſides, ſix hundred horſe raiſed in Gallia Ciſalpina, and ſome auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Aſia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to thirty thouſand men. The prætor Anicius had alſo two legions; but they conſiſted of only five thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe each; which, with ten thouſand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horſe, compoſed the army under him of twenty-one thouſand two hundred men. The troops that ſerved on board the fleet were five thouſand men. Theſe three bodies together made fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred men.

As the war, which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, ſeemed of the laſt conſequence, all precautions were taken that might conduce to the ſucceſs of it. The conſul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to ſerve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none ſhould be elected into this employment, but ſuch as had already ſerved, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to chooſe out of all the tribunes ſuch as he approved for his army: he had twelve for the two legions.

It muſt be allowed the Romans acted with great wiſdom upon this occaſion. They had, as we have ſeen, unanimouſly choſen conſul and general, the perſon amongſt them who was indiſputably the greateſt captain of his time. They had reſolved that no officers ſhould be raiſed to the poſt of tribune, but ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their merit, experience, and capacity inſtanced in real ſervice; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or ſeniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to chooſe ſuch of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who ſerve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the ſoul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the beſt underſtanding between them, founded in a paſſion for the publick good, with which neither intereſt, jealouſy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all theſe regulations were made, the conſul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the ſenate to the aſſembly of the people, to whom he ſpoke in this manner: "You ſeem to me, Romans, to have expreſſed more "joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I "was elected conſul, or entered upon that office; "and to me your joy ſeemed to be occaſioned by the "hopes you conceived, that I ſhould put an end, "worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman "people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has "already been of too long continuance. I have reaſon "to believe, that the ſame gods*, who have occa-"ſioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will alſo aſſiſt "me with their protection in conducting and termi-"nating this war ſucceſsfully: but of this I may ven-"ture to aſſure you, that I ſhall do my utmoſt not to "fall

* *It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the divinity preſides over chance.*

" fall ſhort of your expectations. The ſenate has wiſely
" regulated every thing neceſſary in the expedition I
" am charged with; and, as I am ordered to ſet out
" immediately, I ſhall make no delay, and know that
" my colleague C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for
" the publick ſervice, will raiſe and march off the
" troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and
" expedition, as if they were for himſelf. I ſhall take
" care to remit to you, as well as to the ſenate, an
" exact account of all that paſſes; and you may rely
" upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I
" beg of you, as a great favour, that you will not
" give credit to, or lay any weight out of credulity
" upon the light reports, which are frequently ſpread
" abroad without any author. I perceive well, that
" in this war, more than any other, whatever reſolu-
" tion people may form to obviate theſe rumours,
" they will not fail to make impreſſion, and inſpire I
" know not what diſcouragement. There are thoſe,
" who in company, and even at table, command ar-
" mies, make diſpoſitions, and preſcribe all the ope-
" rations of the campaign. They know better than
" we where we ſhould encamp, and what poſts it is
" neceſſary for us to ſeiſe; at what time, and by what
" defile we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is
" proper to have magazines; from whence, either by
" ſea or land, we are to bring proviſions; when we
" are to fight the enemy, and when lie ſtill. They
" not only preſcribe what is beſt to do, but for devi-
" ating ever ſo little from their plans, they make it a
" crime in their conſul, and cite him before their tri-
" bunal. But know, Romans, this is of very bad
" effect with your generals. All have not the reſolu-
" tion and conſtancy of Fabius, to deſpiſe impertı-
" nent reports. He could chooſe rather to ſuffer the
" people upon ſuch unhappy rumours to invade his
" authority, than to ruin affairs in order to preſerve
" their opinion, and an empty name. I am far from
" believing, that generals ſtand in no need of advice:
" I think, on the contrary, that whoever would con-

" duct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and " without counſel, ſhows more preſumption than pru- " dence. But ſome may aſk, How then ſhall we act " reaſonably? In not ſuffering any perſons to obtrude " their advice upon your generals, but ſuch as are, " in the firſt place, verſed in the art of war, and have " learned from experience what it is to command; and " in the ſecond, who are upon the ſpot, who know " the enemy, are witneſſes in perſon to all that paſſes, " and ſharers with us in all dangers. If there be any " one who conceives himſelf capable of aſſiſting me " with his counſels in the war you have charged me " with, let him not refuſe to do the republick that " ſervice, but let him go with me into Macedonia; " ſhips, horſes, tents, proviſions, ſhall all be ſupplied " him at my charge. But if he will not take ſo much " trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to " the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not " take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle " in the port. The city of itſelf ſupplies ſufficient " matter of diſcourſe on other ſubjects; but as for " theſe, let it be ſilent upon them, and know, that " we ſhall pay no regard to any counſels, but ſuch as " ſhall be given us in the camp itſelf."

This diſcourſe of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reaſon and good ſenſe, ſhows that men are the ſame in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticiſing, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not obſerve, that doing ſo is a manifeſt contradiction to reaſon and juſtice: to reaſon; for what can be more abſurd and ridiculous, than to ſee perſons, without any knowledge or experience in war, ſet themſelves up for cenſors of the moſt able generals, and pronounce with a magiſterial air upon their actions? to juſtice; for the moſt experienced can make no certain judgement without being upon the ſpot: the leaſt circumſtance of time, place, diſpoſition of the troops, ſecret orders not divulged, being capable of making an abſolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we muſt not expect to

ſee

ſee a failing reformed, that has its ſource in the curioſity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wiſely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to deſpiſe theſe city-reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing elſe to do, and have generally as little judgement as buſineſs.

Paulus Æmilius (*c*), after having diſcharged, according to cuſtom, the duties of religion, ſet out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilſt they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perſeus, on his ſide, had not been aſleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money (that is, three hundred thouſand crowns) and purchaſed his alliance at that price.

He ſent ambaſſadours at the ſame time to Rhodes, convinced, that if that iſland, very powerful at that time by ſea, ſhould embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarraſſed. He ſent deputies alſo to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perſeus did wiſely in having recourſe to theſe meaſures, and in endeavouring to ſtrengthen himſelf by ſuch ſupports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking thoſe ſteps, and to have made them the firſt foundations of his enterpriſe. He did not think of putting thoſe remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almoſt to extremity, and his affairs next to abſolutely deſperate. It was rather calling in ſpectators and aſſociates of his ruin, than aids and ſupports. The inſtructions which he gave his ambaſſadors were very ſolid and perſuaſive, as we are about to ſee; but he ſhould have made uſe of them three years ſooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked, almoſt alone, in the war againſt ſo powerful a people, with ſo many reſources in caſe of misfortune.

The

(*c*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv—lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 260.

The ambaſſadors had the ſame inſtructions for both thoſe kings. They repreſented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republicks and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themſelves to ruin them one after another. That they had cruſhed his father by the aſſiſtance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in ſome meaſure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been ſubjected, and that at preſent they had armed Eumenes and Pruſias againſt himſelf. That after the kingdom of Macedonia ſhould be deſtroyed, Aſia would be the next to experience the ſame fate; of which they had already uſurped a part, under the ſpecious colour of re-eſtabliſhing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would ſoon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Pruſias to Eumenes by particular diſtinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perſeus requeſted of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they perſevered in the unjuſt deſign of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambaſſadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reſerve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ranſoming priſoners, and treated only in ſecret upon the real cauſe of it. There had paſſed already ſeveral conferences, at different times and places, upon the ſame ſubject, which had began to render that prince very much ſuſpected by the Romans. It was not becauſe Eumenes deſired at bottom, that Perſeus ſhould be victorious againſt the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealouſy; neither was he more willing to declare openly againſt, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to ſee the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perſeus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befal him;

him; the Romans, from being weary of a war ſpun out to too great a length; he deſired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perſeus purchaſe his mediation, or at leaſt his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen hundred thouſand crowns.) The only difference that remained, was in ſettling the time for the payment of that ſum. Perſeus was for waiting till the ſervice took effect, and in the mean time offered to depoſite the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himſelf ſecure in that, becauſe Samothracia depended on Perſeus, and therefore he inſiſted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewiſe in another negociation, which might have been no leſs in his favour. He had cauſed a body of Gauls to come from the other ſide of the Danube, conſiſting of ten thouſand horſe and a many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horſeman, five to the infantry, and a thouſand to their captains. I have obſerved above, that theſe Gauls had taken the name of Baſtarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in towns and villages, through which they were to paſs, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, ſhould be provided for them; he had preſents for their principal officers, of horſes, arms, and habits; to theſe he added ſome money, which was to be diſtributed amongſt a ſmall number; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues diſtant from him. Antigonus was aſtoniſhed when he ſaw men of prodigious ſtature, ſkilful in all the exerciſes of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes.

bravadoes. He ſet off, in the beſt terms, the orders his maſter had given for their good reception wherever they paſſed, and the preſents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to ſend their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of theſe ſtrangers, came directly to the point; and aſked, whether he had brought the ſum agreed on. As no anſwer was given to that queſtion; *Go*, ſaid he, *and let your prince know, that till he ſends the hoſtages and ſums agreed on, the Gauls will not ſtir from hence.* The king, upon the return of his deputy, aſſembled his council. He foreſaw what they would adviſe; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to diſguiſe his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give ſuch numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thouſand horſe would ſuffice for him. Every body perceived that his ſole apprehenſion was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his maſter had occaſion for no more than five thouſand horſe. Upon which they raiſed an univerſal cry and murmur againſt Perſeus, who had made them come ſo far to inſult them ſo groſly. Clondicus having aſked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thouſand horſe; as the deputy ſought evaſions, and gave no direct anſwers, the Gauls grew furious, and were juſt going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and diſmiſſed him without any ill treatment to his perſon. The Gauls marched away immediately, reſumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perſeus, with ſo conſiderable a re-inforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached thoſe Gauls into Theſſaly, where they might

might have plundered the country, and taken the ſtrongeſt places. By that means, remeaning quiet about the river Enipæus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have ſubſiſted any longer in the country, becauſe they could have brought no proviſions as before from Theſſaly, which would have been entirely laid waſte. The avarice by which he was governed, prevented his making any uſe of ſo great an advantage.

The ſame vice made him loſe another of the ſame nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length conſented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raiſing troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negociated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thouſand crowns) in part of the ſum promiſed him. Gentius diſpatched his ambaſſadours, and with them perſons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them alſo, when all ſhould be concluded, to join Perſeus's ambaſſadours, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republick into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had repreſented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head againſt the three powers united. Perſeus received thoſe ambaſſadours with all poſſible marks of diſtinction. After the exchange of hoſtages, and the taking of oaths on both ſides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambaſſadours and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into cheſts, under the ſeal of the ambaſſadours, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perſeus had given orders underhand to the perſons charged with this convoy, to march ſlowly, and by ſmall journies, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to ſtop for his further orders. During all this time, Pantauchus,

who

who had remainded at the court of Illyria, made preſſing inſtances to the king to declare againſt the Romans by ſome act of hoſtility. In the mean while arrived ambaſſadors from the Romans, to negociate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earneſt, and advice that the whole ſum was upon the road. Upon the repeated ſollicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he cauſed the two ambaſſadours to be impriſoned, under pretence that they were ſpies. As ſoon as Perſeus had received this news, believing him ſufficiently and irretrievably engaged againſt the Romans by ſo glaring an act, he recalled thoſe who carried the three hundred talents; congratulating himſelf in ſecret, upon the good ſucceſs of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in ſaving his money. But he did not ſee that he only kept it in reſerve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himſelf againſt him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his ſon Alexander, the moſt illuſtrious of his predeceſſors, who uſed to ſay, *That victory ſhould be purchaſed with money, and not money ſaved at the expence of victory.*

The ambaſſadors of Perſeus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republick had reſolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare againſt that which ſhould refuſe to accept propoſals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their poſts in the beginning of the ſpring; the conſul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The ſucceſs of the laſt was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war againſt Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had ſurrendered to him, with great moderation, the other

cities

cities ſoon followed its example. Gentius himſelf was reduced to come, and throw himſelf at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confeſſing with tears in his eyes, his fault or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His firſt care was to take the two ambaſſadors out of priſon. He ſent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and ſome days after cauſed Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The ſight of ſuch illuſtrious priſoners very much augmented the people's joy. Publick thankſgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vaſt concourſe of perſons of all ſexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perſeus encamped near the ſea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which ſeemed inacceſſible. He had the Enipæus in front, whoſe banks were very high; and on the ſide where he lay he had thrown up good entrenchments, with towers from ſpace to ſpace, on which were placed baliſtæ, and other machines for diſcharging darts and ſtones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perſeus had fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, as made him believe himſelf entirely ſecure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at laſt repulſe, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to ſubſiſt his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adverſary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts ſolely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and meaſures for executing ſome enterpriſe with ſucceſs. He began by eſtabliſhing an exact and ſevere diſcipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licenſe wherein it had been ſuffered to live. He reformed ſeveral things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of ſentinels. It had been a cuſtom amongſt the

ſoldiers to criticiſe upon their general, to examine all his actions amongſt themſelves, to preſcribe him conduct, and to explain upon what he ſhould or ſhould not do. He ſpoke to them with reſolution and dignity. He gave them to underſtand, that ſuch diſcourſes did not become a ſoldier, that he ought to make only three things his buſineſs; the care of his body, in order to render it robuſt and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean, and in good condition; and of his * proviſions, that he might be always in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice; that for the reſt, he ought to rely upon the goodneſs of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himſelf, he ſhould omit nothing that might be neceſſary to give them occaſion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the ſignal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this diſcourſe. The old ſoldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A ſurpriſing change was immediately obſerved in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The ſoldiers were ſeen ſharpening their ſwords, poliſhing their helmets, cuiraſſes, and ſhields; practiſing an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandiſhing their naked ſwords, in ſhort, forming and inuring themſelves in all military exerciſes ſo that it was eaſy to foreſee, that upon the firſt opportunity they ſhould have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was ſituated very commodiouſly, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whoſe thoughts extended to every thing, ſeeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flouriſhing, judged, from the quantity and quality of thoſe trees, that there muſt be ſprings of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the ſame time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits

* *The Roman ſoldiers ſometimes carried proviſions for ten or twelve days.*

pits to be dug in the ſand. The ſurface * was ſcarce broke up, when ſprings of water were ſeen to run, muddy at firſt, and in ſmall quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event though natural was looked upon by the ſoldiers as a ſingular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and reſpected by them than before.

When Perſeus ſaw what paſſed in the Roman camp, the ardour of the ſoldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exerciſes, by which they prepared themſelves for combat, he began to be greatly diſquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius and Hoſtilius, or a Marciûs; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his ſide, animated his ſoldiers, employed himſelf in forming them by different exerciſes, added new works to the old, and uſed all means to put his camp out of danger of inſult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This cauſed incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongſt the ſoldiers an inexpreſſible ardour to ſignalize themſelves alſo on their ſide. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perſeus endeavoured at firſt to ſuppreſs this news; but his care to diſſemble it, only ſerved to make it more publick and certain. The alarm was general amongſt his troops, who apprehended the ſame fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambaſſadors, who came to make the ſame propoſals to the army in regard to peace, that at Rome had ſo highly offended the ſenate. It is eaſy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some in the height

* Vix deducta ſumma arena erat, cum ſcaturigenes turbidæ primo & tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam velut deûm dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ & auctoritatis apud milites adjecit. *Liv.*

of their anger, were for having them diſmiſſed with inſult. The conſul thought, the beſt way to expreſs his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an anſwer in fifteen days.

To ſhow how little he made of the pacifick mediation of the Rhodians, he aſſembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable, that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Theſſaly; perhaps, upon account of proviſions; for at preſent they conſulted upon meaſures for opening a paſſage into Macedonia. Some, and thoſe the oldeſt officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's entrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They obſerved, that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not ſuſtain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, ſhould go to Theſſalonica, and attack the ſea-coaſts, in order to oblige the king, by that diverſion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the paſſage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to chooſe what meaſures he pleaſes. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He ſaw that the Enipæus, as well from its natural ſituation, as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inacceſſible. He knew beſides, without mentioning the machines diſpoſed on all ſides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in diſcharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of ſuch impenetrable lines as thoſe were, had been to expoſe his troops to inevitable ſlaughter; and a good general ſpares the blood of his ſoldiers, becauſe he looks upon himſelf as their father, and believes it his duty to preſerve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore, for ſome days, without making the leaſt motion. Plutarch ſays, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies ſo

numerous,

numerous, that lay ſo long in the preſence of each other, in ſuch profound peace, and ſo perfect a tranquility. In any other times the ſoldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquieſce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent enquiry, and uſing all means for information, he was told by two Perrhœbian merchants, whoſe prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhœbia, which led to Pythium, a town ſituate upon the brow of mount * Olympus: that this way was not of difficult acceſs, but was well guarded. Perſeus had ſent thither a detachment of five thouſand men. He conceived, that in cauſing this poſt to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take poſſeſſion of it. It was neceſſary, therefore, to amuſe the enemy, and to conceal his real deſign. He ſent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himſelf to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days proviſions with him for a thouſand men; in order to make Perſeus believe, that he was going to ravage the ſea-coaſts. At the ſame time he made his ſon Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Naſica, the ſon-in-law of Scipio Africanus, ſet out: he gave them a detachment of five thouſand choſen troops, and ordered them to march by the ſea-ſide towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been propoſed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the conſul's orders. As ſoon as it was night, quitting their rout by the coaſt, they advanced, without halting towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhœbian guides. It had been concluded, that they ſhould arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time, Paulus Æmilius, to amuſe the

* *The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was ſituated, was upwards of ten ſtadia, or half a league.*

enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a ſlight engagement in the courſe of the river itſelf, which was then very low. The banks on each ſide, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the ſtream was a thouſand paces broad. The action paſſed in the ſight of the king and conſul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The conſul cauſed the retreat to be ſounded towards noon. The loſs was almoſt equal on both ſides. The next day the battle was renewed in the ſame manner, and almoſt at the ſame hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only thoſe upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and ſtones upon them. The conſul loſt abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay ſtill, and ſeemed to deſign to attempt a paſſage near the ſea. Perſeus did not ſuſpect in the leaſt the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reaſon he made them reſt themſelves the remainder of the night. Perſeus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a ſudden a Cretan deſerter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, rouſed him from his ſecurity, by letting him know the compaſs the Romans had taken to ſurpriſe him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thouſand foreign ſoldiers, with two thouſand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all poſſible diligence to take poſſeſſion of an eminence, which the Romans had ſtill to paſs, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingiy got thither before them. A very rude engagement enſued upon this eminence, and the victory was for ſome time in ſuſpence. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all ſides,

and

and were put to the rout. Scipio purſued them vigorouſly, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When thoſe who fled came to the camp of Perſeus, they occaſioned ſo great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, ſeized with fear, and almoſt in deſpair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper meaſures. The queſtion was, whether it was beſt to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, ſupply them well with proviſions, and expect the enemy there, who could not ſubſiſt long in a country, which he had taken care to lay waſte, and could furniſh neither forage for the horſe, nor proviſions for the men. The latter reſolution had great inconveniencies, and argued the prince reduced to the laſt extremity, without either hope or reſource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himſelf by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded, but executed in perſon. Whilſt Perſeus, uncertain what to reſolve, fluctuated in doubt; the principal officers repreſented to him, that his army was much ſuperior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himſelf witneſs of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. Theſe reaſons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, aſſigned every one his poſt, and gave all orders with great preſence of mind; reſolved to attack the Romans as ſoon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light-armed foot, and the archers, a ſecure retreat, and alſo a means to conceal their marching to ſurround

the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two ſmall rivers, which had not much water at that time, in conſequence of the ſeaſon (for it was then about the end of ſummer) but whoſe ſteep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle againſt the enemy; keeping always on the ſea-coaſt, for the convenience of having proviſions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had conſidered the good diſpoſition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to intreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whoſe boldneſs was increaſed by his late ſucceſs upon mount Olympus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt by his earneſtneſs, and the preſſing inſtances he made. He repreſented to him, that the generals, his predeceſſors, had ſuffered the enemy to eſcape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perſeus would fly in the night, and they ſhould be obliged to purſue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remoteſt parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compaſſes through defiles and foreſts, as had happened in the preceding years. He adviſed him therefore, whilſt the enemy was in open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the conſul to young Scipio, "I thought as you do now, and one day you will "think as I do. I ſhall give you the reaſons of my "conduct another time; at preſent ſatisfy yourſelf, "and rely upon the diſcretion of an old general." The young officer was ſilent, convinced that the conſul had good reaſons for acting as he did.

After

After having ſpoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to preſent a front, as if they intended to engage. They were diſpoſed, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, in three lines. At the ſame time the pioneers (*c*), covered by thoſe lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was ſoon completed. The conſul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was neareſt the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the entrenchments, without confuſion, diſorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king on his ſide, ſeeing the Romans declined fighting, retired alſo into his camp.

It was an inviolable * law amongſt the Romans, though they were to ſtay only one day and night in a place, to encloſe themſelves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themſelves out of inſult, and avoided all ſurprize. The ſoldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the entrenchments ſerved inſtead of walls, and the tents, of houſes. In caſe of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp ſerved for their retreat and refuge; and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and ſecurity.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreſhment, whilſt they had no other thoughts than of going to reſt, on a ſudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour ſeveral times, and was at length totally eclipſed. A tribune, called S. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having aſſembled the ſoldiers, with the conſul's permiſſion, had apprized them of the eclipſe, and ſhewn them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would

(*c*) Haſtati Principes Triarii.

* Majores veſtri caſtra munita portum ad omnes caſus exercitûs ducebant eſſe.—Patria altera eſt militaris hæc ſedes, vallumque pro mœnibus & tentorium ſuum cuique militi domus ac penates ſunt—Caſtra ſunt victori receptaculum victo perfugium. *Liv.* l. xliv. n. 39.

would continue. The Roman ſoldiers therefore were not aſtoniſhed at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were ſeiſed with horror and dread; and it was whiſpered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious obſerver of all the ceremonies preſcribed for the ſacrifices, or rather very ſuperſtitious, applied himſelf to offering oxen to Hercules. He ſacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable ſign in the entrails of thoſe victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he ſaw ſuch as promiſed him the victory, if he only defended himſelf, without attacking the enemy. At the ſame time he vowed a ſacrifice to the ſame god of an hundred oxen, with publick games. Having made an end of all theſe religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he aſſembled his council. He had heard complaints of his ſlowneſs in attacking the enemy. He deſired therefore to give this aſſembly an account of his conduct, eſpecially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promiſed it. The reaſons for his not having given battle the day before, were: firſt, becauſe the enemy's army was much ſuperior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken conſiderably by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the ſecond place, would it have conſiſted with prudence to engage troops entirely freſh with his, exhauſted as they were by a long and painful march, by the exceſſive weight of their arms, by the heat of the ſun, with which they had been almoſt broiled, and by thirſt, which gave them inſupportable pain? In the laſt place, he inſiſted ſtrongly on the indiſpenſable neceſſity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well-entrenched camp behind him, which might, in caſe of accident, ſerve the army for a retreat. He concluded his diſcourſe with bidding them prepare for battle the ſame day.

We

We ſee here, * that there is a wide difference between the duty of ſoldiers and ſubaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to deſire, and behave well in, battle; but the general's buſineſs is to foreſee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to chooſe his meaſures with mature deliberation; and by a wiſe delay of ſome days, or even hours, he often preſerves an army, which an inconſiderate precipitation might have expoſed to ruin.

Though the reſolution for fighting had been taken on both ſides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either ſide. Some Thracian ſoldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to aſſiſt theſe foragers. The Macedonians cauſed troops to advance, to ſupport the Thracians; the re-inforcements on both ſides continually increaſing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have loſt the paſſage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which deſcribes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a juſt idea of it, what Plutarch ſays being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge the Macedonian phalanx diſtinguiſhed themſelves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the ſhields of his ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their ſwords; and he ſaw, at the ſame time, that the whole front-line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and preſented their pikes. This rampart of braſs, and foreſt of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with aſtoniſhment and terrour. He often ſpoke after-

* Diviſa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, conſultando, cunctatione ſæpius quam temeritate prodeſſe. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. iii. c. 20.

afterwards of the impreſſion that dreadful ſight made upon him, and what reaſon it gave him to doubt of the ſucceſs of the battle. But not to diſcourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and ſerene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuiraſs, animating them with his expreſſions, and much more by his example. The general, more than ſixty years of age, was ſeen expoſing himſelf to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmoſt endeavours, one of their officers took the enſign of his company, and toſſed it into the midſt of the enemy. The reſt threw themſelves, in conſequence, like deſperate men upon that battalion. Aſtoniſhing actions enſued on both ſides, with a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their ſwords, and to puſh them back with their bucklers; ſtriving ſometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aſide, in order to open themſelves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping cloſe order, and holding their pikes in both hands, preſented that iron rampart, and gave thoſe ſuch great ſtrokes that flung upon them, that, piercing ſhields and cuiraſſes, they laid the boldeſt of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to ruſh headlong, like wild beaſts, upon the ſpears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they ſaw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into diſorder, the ſecond was diſcouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but, inſtead of advancing, they retreated toward mount * Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius ſaw that, he tore his clothes, and was ſtruck with extreme ſorrow to ſee, upon the firſt troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It preſented a front covered with pikes, and

* *That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.*

and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every-where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius obſerved the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one ſide, whilſt it advanced on the other; which muſt neceſſarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the ſame vigour, fight alſo with different ſucceſs.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void ſpaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by ſmall detachments, and in different places at the ſame time. This order, given ſo critically, occaſioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void ſpaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to uſe their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an inſtant, and all its force, which conſiſted ſolely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vaniſhed and diſappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their ſhort ſwords ſtruck upon the Roman ſhields, which were very ſtrong and ſolid, and covered them almoſt from head to foot; on the contrary, they oppoſed ſmall bucklers againſt the ſwords of the Romans, which were heavy and ſtrong, and handled with ſuch force and vigour, that they ſcarce diſcharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make ſhields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having loſt their advantage, and being taken on their weak ſide, reſiſted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

"The king of Macedonia, abandoning himſelf to his fear, rode off full ſpeed in the beginning of the

battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a ſacrifice to Hercules; as if ſays Plutarch, Hercules was a god that would receive the ſacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjuſt vows; for it is not juſt that he ſhould be victorious, who durſt not face his enemy: whereas the ſame god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, becauſe he aſked victory with ſword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmeſt, and where the Romans found the greateſt reſiſtance. It was there, alſo, that the ſon of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's ſon-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily loſt his ſword, which ſlipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himſelf and inconſolable, he ran through the ranks and aſſembling a body of brave and reſolute young ſoldiers, he ruſhed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a moſt bloody ſlaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining maſters of the ground, they applied themſelves in ſearching for the ſword, which they found at laſt under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Tranſported with that good fortune, and raiſing ſhouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon ſuch of the enemy as ſtood firm; ſo that at length the three thouſand Macedonians who remained, and were a diſtinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceaſing to fight to the laſt moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the reſt fled, and ſo great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans paſſed the river Leucus, they found the waters ſtill ſtained with their blood. It is ſaid that five-and-twenty thouſand men on the ſide of the Macedonians periſhed in this battle. The Romans loſt only an hundred, and made eleven or twelve thouſand priſoners. The cavalry, which had no ſhare in this battle, ſeeing the foot

put

put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour againſt the phalanx, did not think at that time of purſuing them.

This great battle was decided ſo ſuddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The reſt of the day was employed in the purſuit, which was carried very far; ſo that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the ſervants in the army went out to meet their maſters with great ſhouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of * ivy and crowns of laurel.

But in the midſt of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two ſons he had in the battle, the youngeſt, who was but ſeventeen years old, and whom he loved with moſt tenderneſs, becauſe he had already given great hopes of himſelf, did not appear. The camp was in an univerſal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful ſilence. They ſearched for him with torches amongſt the dead, but to no purpoſe. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they deſpaired of ever ſeeing him more, he returned from the purſuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taſte the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reſerved for other tears, and ruins no leſs to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we ſpeak, was the ſecond Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having deſtroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the ſon of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The conſul immediately diſpatched three couriers of diſtinction (of whom his ſon Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In

* *This was a cuſtom among the Romans. Cæſar writes in the third book of the civil war,* That he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and ſome others, covered with ivy. L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.

In the mean time Perſeus, continuing his flight, had paſſed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horſe, which had eſcaped from the battle without ſtriking a blow. The foot-ſoldiers that fled in diſorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the ſharpeſt terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their reſentment further, they pulled them off their horſes, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the conſequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, to diſcourſe with his friends with the more eaſe, he alighted, and led his horſe in his hand. Several of thoſe who attended him took different routs from his, under various pretexts; leſs to avoid the purſuit of the enemy, than to ſhun the fury of the prince, whoſe defeat had only ſerved to irritate and enflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and thoſe all ſtrangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to aſſaſſinate king Eumenes was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the laſt.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he ſtabbed two of his treaſurers with his own hands, for being ſo bold as to repreſent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill timed freedom to give him their counſel upon what was neceſſary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely loſt him with every body. Alarmed by the almoſt univerſal deſertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himſelf ſafe at Pella, and left it the ſame night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greateſt part of his treaſures. When he arrived there, he ſent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the iſland of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Caſtor

Caſtor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their ſubmiſſion.

The conſul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy ſituation of which he admired. The king's treaſures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had ſent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards cauſed to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perſeus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to paſs from thence into that iſland.

He was encamped (*e*) at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perſeus, which was preſented to him by three deputies of inconſiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear ſhedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the preſent condition of Perſeus was a ſenſible example. But when he ſaw this title and inſcription upon the letter, *Perſeus the king, to the conſul Paulus Æmilius, greeting*; the ſtupid ignorance that prince ſeemed to be in of his condition, extinguiſhed in him all ſenſe of compaſſion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and ſuppliant ſtyle, and little conſiſted with the royal dignity, he diſmiſſed the deputies without an anſwer. How haughty were theſe proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perſeus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a ſecond letter, to which he only put his name, without the condition of his quality. He demanded, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to treat with him, which was granted. This negociation had no effect, becauſe, on the one ſide, Perſeus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, inſiſted, that he ſhould ſubmit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

(*e*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 3—9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* *An obſcure unknown city, upon the eaſtern frontier of Macedonia.*

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perſeus by force out of that aſylum, in reſpect to the gods who preſided in it, but he endeavoured by promiſes and threats to induce him to quit it, and ſurrender himſelf to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman (named Acilius) either of himſelf, or in concert with the prætor, took another courſe to draw the king out of the ſanctuary. In the aſſembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he ſaid to them: "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that "your iſland is held a ſacred and inviolable aſylum "throughout all its extent?" Upon being anſwered by all preſent, that it was undoubtedly ſo. "How "then (continued he) do you ſuffer its ſanctity to "be violated by an homicide, contaminated with the "blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious cere-"monies begin by the excluſion of thoſe whoſe hands "are impure, how can you ſuffer your temple to be "profaned and defiled by the preſence of an infa-"mous murtherer?" This accuſation fell upon Perſeus; but the Samothracians choſe rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended aſſaſſination of Eumenes. They ſent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accuſed of aſſaſſination, and that he ſhould appear, according to the cuſtom of their ſanctuary, to juſtify himſelf before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he ſhould take meaſures for his ſafety, and quit the temple. The king having ſent for Evander, adviſed him in the ſtrongeſt terms not to ſubmit to that ſentence. He had his reaſons for giving this counſel, apprehending he would declare, that the aſſaſſination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to underſtand, that the only method he could take was to kill himſelf. Evander ſeemed at firſt to conſent to it, and profeſſing, that he had rather die by poiſon than the ſword, he intended to make his eſcape by flight. The king was aware of that deſign,

and

and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their reſentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the puniſhment he deſerved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the ſanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magiſtrate with preſents of money, who declared in the aſſembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himſelf.

The prætor, not being able to perſuade Perſeus to quit his aſylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his eſcape. However, notwithſtanding his precautions, Perſeus gained ſecretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ſhip, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treaſures; they amounted to two thouſand talents, that is, to about three hundred thouſand pounds. But, ſuſpicious as he was, he did not diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the whole; ſent only a part of it to the ſhip, and reſerved the reſt of it to be carried on board with himſelf. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occaſion, ſhipped all the gold and ſilver that had been ſent him in the evening, and let Perſeus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and ſuch of his people as were abſolutely neceſſary to attend his perſon.

The appointed time approaching, Perſeus with infinite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, croſſed a garden, and got out through a ruinous houſe, with his wife and ſon. The remainder of his treaſures followed him. His grief and deſpair was inexpreſſible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under ſail. He had entruſted his other children to Ion of Theſſalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cauſe that induced Perſeus to put himſelf into the power of thoſe who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly ſurrendered himſelf and Philip his ſon to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the conſul; having firſt appriſed him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius ſent his ſon-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perſeus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his ſon. The conſul, who waited for him with a ſufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival roſe from his ſeat, and advancing ſome few ſteps, offered him his hand. Perſeus threw himſelf at his feet; but he raiſed him immediately, and would not ſuffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him ſit down, facing thoſe who formed the aſſembly.

He began by aſking him; "What cauſe of diſcon-
"tent had induced him to enter with ſo much animo-
"ſity into a war with the Roman people, that expoſed
"himſelf and his kingdom to the greateſt dangers?"
When, inſtead of the anſwer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and ſhedding tears, kept ſilence. Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: "Had you aſcended the
"throne a youth, I ſhould be leſs ſurpriſed at your
"being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman
"people for your friends or enemies. But having
"been preſent in the war made by your father againſt
"us, and certainly remembering the peace, which
"we have punctually obſerved on our ſide, how could
"you prefer war rather than peace, with a people,
"whoſe force in the former, and fidelity in the latter,
"you had ſo well experienced?" Perſeus making no more anſwer to this reproach than he had done to the firſt queſtion: "In whatſoever manner, notwithſtand-
"ing (reſumed the conſul) theſe affairs have hap-
"pened; whether they are the effects of error, to
"which all mankind are liable, or of chance; or that
"fatal deſtiny which ſuperintends all things, take
"courage. The clemency with which the Roman
"people have behaved in regard to many other kings
"and nations, ought to inſpire you, I do not ſay with
"ſome

" ſome hope only, but with almoſt entire confidence, " that you will meet with the ſame treatment." He ſpoke this in Greek to Perſeus: then, turning towards the Romans, " You * ſee (ſaid he in his own language) a great example of the inconſtancy of " human affairs. It is to you principally, young " Romans, I addreſs this diſcourſe. The uncertainty " of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach " us never to uſe any one with inſolence and cruelty " in our proſperity, nor rely too much upon our preſent advantages. The proof of real merit and true " valour is neither to be too elate in good, nor too " dejected in bad fortune." Paulus Æmilius, having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his preſent condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greateſt part of the troops; the reſt were diſtributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perſeus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom ſo illuſtrious both in Europe and Aſia. Perſeus had *(f)* reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the † fortieth king from Caranus, who was the firſt that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conqueſt coſt Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obſcure, till the time of Philip, ſon of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made conſiderable acquiſitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part

(f) Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* Exemplum inſigne cernitis, *inquit*, mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipuè dico, juvenes. Ideo in ſecundis rebus nihil in quemquam ſuperbè ac violenter conſulere decet, nec præſenti credere fortunæ, cum, quid veſper ferat incertum ſit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec proſpera flatu ſuo efferet, nec adverſa infringet. *Liv.*

† *Livy, ſuch as we have him, ſays the* twentieth. *Juſtin the* thirtieth. *It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it ſhould be corrected, the* fortieth *with Euſebius.*

of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Aſia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, ſubjected all the provinces, of which the vaſt empire of the Perſians was compoſed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one ſide, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greateſt that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander by his ſucceſſors, who took each part to himſelf, ſubſiſted during ſomething more than an hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raiſed it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the ſo-much-boaſted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terrour and admiration of the univerſe; or, to ſpeak more juſtly, the example of the moſt vain and moſt frantick ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had ſent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perſeus, uſed all poſſible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilſt the games were celebrating in their Circus, it was whiſpered about, that a battle had been fought at Macedonia, and Perſeus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magiſtrates, after a ſtrict enquiry, had diſcovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that falſe and ſhort-lived joy ceaſed, and left only a ſecret hope, that it was perhaps a preſage of victory, which either was already, or would ſoon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perſeus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not eſcape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been ſuſpended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumſtantial

narrative

narrative of the battle, firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people. Publick prayers and ſacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an inſtant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their ſignal protection vouchſafed the republick.

After the nomination of (g) new conſuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius: Ten commiſſioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The ſenate, before they ſet out, regulated their commiſſion in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians ſhould be declared free; in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to ſubject free people, but to deliver ſuch as were enſlaved; ſo that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and juſtice by them, in conſideration for the Romans; or that, whenever war ſhould ariſe between thoſe kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the iſſue of thoſe wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The ſenate alſo aboliſhed certain duties upon the mines and land eſtates; becauſe thoſe duties could not be collected but by the miniſtry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that whenever ſuch ſort * of farmers are ſuffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppreſſed. They eſtabliſhed a general council for the nation; leſt the populace ſhould cauſe the liberty granted them by the ſenate to degenerate into a deſtructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions; each of which had a diſtinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accuſtomed to pay their kings. Theſe were in part A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 167.

(g) Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

* Et ubi publicanus eſt, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem ſociis nullam eſſe. *Liv.*

the orders with which the commiſſioners of Macedonia were charged. Thoſe for Illyria had almoſt the ſame inſtructions, and arrived there firſt. After having communicated their commiſſion to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they ſummoned an aſſembly of the principal perſons of the nation. Anicius having aſcended his tribunal, declared to them, that the ſenate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garriſons ſhould be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as ſoon as poſſible. In regard to ſome people, who, either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the reſt were diſcharged from one half of the impoſts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their publick council and magiſtrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia (*b*) arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leiſure, viſited, during the autumn, the moſt celebrated cities of Greece; to ſee thoſe things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he ſet out with a ſmall train, accompanied by young Scipio his ſon, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He paſſed through Theſſaly, in his way to Delphos, the moſt celebrated oracle in the univerſe. The multitude and value of the preſents, ſtatues, veſſels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, ſurpriſed him extremely. He there offered a ſacrifice to Apollo. Having ſeen a great ſquare pillar of white marble, on which a golden ſtatue of Perſeus was to have been placed, he cauſed his own to be ſet upon it, ſaying, *That the vanquiſhed ought to give place to the victors.*

He ſaw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, ſurnamed Trophonius, and the enterance of the cavern, into which thoſe who conſulted the * oracle deſcended. He

(*b*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

* *For an account of this oracle, ſee* Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

He offered a ſacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddeſs Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curioſity in ſeeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the ſea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon ſailed for Troy. He made a viſit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whoſe altar that king of kings ſacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a proſperous voyage from the goddeſs.

After having paſſed through Oropus in Attica, where the ſoothſayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects preſented themſelves to his view, well capable of inſpiring and gratifying his curioſity: The citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræeus to the city, the arſenals for the navy, erected by illuſtrious generals, the ſtatues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or art were moſt admirable. He did not forget to offer a ſacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddeſs of the citadel.

Whilſt Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philoſopher of the Athenians to finiſh the education of his children, and a fine painter to deſign the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately caſt their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philoſophy and painting: A very ſingular and extraordinary praiſe, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here ſee the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The ſons of that Roman general were then of ſome age, the youngeſt of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time ſeventeen years old. He thought it neceſſary, however, to have a philoſopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the ſtudy of the ſciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which

which of all ſtudies is the moſt important, and yet the moſt neglected. To know what are the effects of ſuch an education, we have not only to conſider the future greatneſs of the youngeſt of the two ſons of this conſul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by polite learning and the ſciences, as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the hiſtorian, Panætius the philoſopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to uſe the terms of a * writer of excellent ſenſe, never ſaid, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treaſure he ſought, in the perſon of Metrodorus, left Athens well ſatisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and iſthmus were an agreeable ſight to him. The firſt, which was ſituated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with ſtreams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the iſthmus, which ſeparated by a very ſmall neck of land two neighbouring ſeas, the one on the eaſt, and the other on the weſt of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illuſtrious cities, were the next in his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, leſs opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æſculapius, where he ſaw an infinite multitude of rich preſents, the offerings of ſick perſons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not diſtinguiſhed by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wiſdom of its laws, cuſtoms, and diſcipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympa, where he ſaw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he caſt his eyes upon the ſtatue

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paterniſque L. Pauli virtutibus ſimillimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac ſtudiorum eminentiſſimus ſeculi ſui, qui nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit ac ſenſit. *Paterc.* l. i. c. 12.

ſtatue of Jupiter, Phidias's maſter-piece, he was as much ſtruck, ſays Livy, as if he had ſeen the god himſelf, and cried out, that *This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer* *. Imagining himſelf in the Capitol, he offered a more ſolemn ſacrifice here than he had done any where elſe.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himſelf any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perſeus, and to avoid giving the allies any cauſe of diſcontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commiſſioners had already paſſed the ſea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much ſurpriſed to meet Perſeus there, whom his guards ſuffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whoſe care he had confided that important priſoner. He put him, with Philip his ſon, into the hands of Poſthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger ſon, he cauſed them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered ſuch care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

The commiſſioners (*i*) being come thither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the aſſembly, where a great number of Macedonians were preſent, he took his ſeat in his tribunal, and after having cauſed ſilence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the ſenate and by himſelf, in conjunction with the commiſſioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was

(*i*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30.

* *To have ſo well expreſſed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praiſe of Phidias; but the having ſo well conceived all the majeſty of God, is much more to that of Homer.*

was declared free; that it ſhould pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the ſum of an hundred talents, or an hundred thouſand crowns; that it ſhould have a publick council, compoſed of a certain number of ſenators, wherein all affairs ſhould be diſcuſſed and adjudged; that it ſhould be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that ſhould each have their council, in which particular affairs ſhould be examined; and that no perſon ſhould contract marriage, or purchaſe lands or houſes out of their own canton. Several other articles of leſs importance were annexed to theſe. The prætor Octavius, who was preſent in this aſſembly, explained the ſeveral articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleaſure, who little expected them: but they looked upon the diviſion of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their uſual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by ſeparating its members, which have no life, and ſubſiſt only in their mutual ſupport of each other.

The conſul (*k*) afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I ſhall relate elſewhere the ſubject of it.

After thoſe foreign affairs were over, (*l*) Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the aſſembly, in order to put the laſt hand to his regulations. He ſpoke at firſt upon the ſenators, who were to compoſe the publick council, wherein the national affairs were to be tranſacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A liſt was then read of the principal perſons of the country, who were to be ſent into Italy, with ſuch of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article ſeemed very hard at firſt; but it was ſoon perceived, that it had been reſolved only for the better ſecurity of the people's liberty. For this liſt included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all ſuch as

(*k*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. (*l*) Ibid. n. 32.

as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embaſſies, with many other officers accuſtomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of ſlaves, and to command others with inſolence. Theſe were all rich perſons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not eaſily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and ſubjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and tranſport themſelves into Italy, upon pain of death for ſuch as diſobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, were ſo reaſonable, that they did not ſeem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reaſon to be ſatisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are beſt known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the inſtitutions of that wiſe magiſtrate.

To theſe ſerious affairs (*m*) ſucceeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the moſt conſiderable perſons in the cities of Aſia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent ſacrifices to the gods, and gave ſuperb beaſts; the king's treaſures ſupplying him abundantly with the means of defraying ſuch great expences; but for the good order and fine taſte obſervable in them, he was indebted ſolely to himſelf. For having ſo many thouſands to receive, he evidenced ſo nice a diſcernment, and ſo exact a knowledge of the quality of all the gueſts, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reaſon to praiſe his politeneſs and generoſity. The Greeks could not ſufficiently admire, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he ſhould inſtance ſo diſtinguiſhing a judgement and attention; and that a man employed in the greateſt, ſhould not neglect the leaſt propriety in ſmall affairs.

He

(*m*) Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

He had cauſed all the ſpoils, that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all ſorts; and cauſed them to be diſpoſed of in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he ſet fire to them firſt himſelf, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards expoſed to the view of the ſpectators, upon a place raiſed expreſsly for the occaſion, all that was richeſt and moſt magnificent in the ſpoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, ſtatues, and paintings of the greateſt maſters, veſſels of gold, ſilver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greateſt opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the higheſt ſatisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was ſtill more graceful to ſelf-love, was to ſee, that in the midſt of ſo many extraordinary objects and curious ſights, nothing was thought ſo wonderful, or ſo worthy of attention and admiration, as himſelf. And as people were ſurpriſed at the fine order of his table, he ſaid, with an air of pleaſantry, that the ſame genius which was neceſſary in diſpoſing a battle, would ſerve alſo in regulating a feaſt; in the firſt, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to gueſts.

His diſintereſtedneſs and magnanimity were no leſs praiſed than his magnificence and politeneſs; for he never ſo much as ſaw the gold and ſilver found amongſt the king's treaſures, which amounted to very great ſums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treaſurers, in order to its being applied to the uſe of the publick. He only permitted his ſons, who were fond of ſtudy, to keep the books of Perſeus's library for their own uſe. The young noblemen of thoſe times, and ſuch as were deſigned one day for the command of armies, did not poſſeſs a contempt for learning, nor

nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unneceſſary to the profeſſion of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius (*n*) had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuſe the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preſerve it by good government and union, he ſet out for Epirus, with a decree of the ſenate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had ſent alſo Scipio Naſica, and Fabius his ſon, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commiſſion, that his deſign ſhould not be foreſeen. He therefore ſent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garriſons, in order that the Epirots ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a ſtratagem was called prudence. He then ſignified to ten of the principal perſons of each city, that they ſhould bring all the gold and ſilver in their houſes and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the publick treaſury, and diſtributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and ſilver was brought early in the morning into the publick place, and at ten of the clock the ſoldiers fell furiouſly upon the houſes which were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thouſand men were made ſlaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demoliſhed, the number of which wanted very little of ſeventy. The whole booty was ſold, and of the ſum raiſed by it, each of the horſe had about ten pounds ſterling, (four hundred denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (two hundred denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which was gentle and humane, had cauſed this

(*n*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the ſea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having aſſembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal perſons of them, whoſe cauſe had been reſerved for the judgement of the ſenate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, being (*o*) arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perſeus's galley, which had ſixteen benches of oars, and wherein was diſplayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich ſtuffs and fineſt carpets of purple found amongſt the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the ſide of the river, and ſeemed to give the proconſul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had ſo well deſerved. But the ſoldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immenſe treaſures of the king, and had not had all the ſhare of them they had promiſed themſelves, retained a warm reſentment upon that account, and were very ill ſatisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and ſeemed determined to refuſe him the honour of a triumph by their ſuffrages. The ſoldiers called that general's exactitude, in point of diſcipline, rigour; and their diſcontent, occaſioned by avarice, threw a falſe gloſs upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do juſtice in their hearts, by acknowledging the ſuperiority of his merit in every thing.

After ſome debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been ſo magnificent. It continued three days ſucceſſively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that ſeems foreign to the Grecian Hiſtory. The money in ſpecie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and ſilver veſſels, amounted to more than twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. One ſingle cup of maſſy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had cauſed

(*o*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 35—40. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

cauſed to be made, and weighed * ten talents, was valued for the gold only, at an hundred thouſand crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and conſecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Beſides theſe rich ſpoils and treaſures, which were carried in pomp, was ſeen the chariot of Perſeus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At ſome diſtance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their houſehold, who, ſhedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught thoſe little captives to do the ſame, and to endeavour, by their ſupplications and prayers to move them in their favour. They were two ſons and a daughter, who had little ſenſe of the greatneſs of their calamity, from the tenderneſs of their years; a circumſtance which ſtill more excited compaſſion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilſt their father was ſcarce regarded, and in the midſt of the publick joy, the people could not refrain from tears at ſo mournful a ſight.

King Perſeus walked after his children and all their train, wrapped in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour ſeemed to argue, that the exceſs of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, ſufficiently explained to the ſpectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were ſenſible ſolely to thoſe of their king.

It is ſaid, that Perſeus ſent to deſire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a ſpectacle to the Romans, and to ſpare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, *The favour he aſks of me is in his own power, he can procure it for himſelf.* He reproached in thoſe few words his cowardice and exceſſive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to ſacrifice generouſly in ſuch conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful

* *The talent weighed ſixty pounds.*

to attempt upon one's life. But Perſeus was not prevented by that conſideration.

Paulus Æmilius, ſeated in a ſuperb chariot, and magnificently adorned, cloſed the march. He had his two ſons on each ſide of him.

Whatever compaſſion he had for the misfortunes of Perſeus, and however inclined he might be to ſerve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the publick priſon to a more commodious place. Himſelf and his ſon Alexander were carried, by the order of the ſenate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and ſupplied with money, furniture, and people to ſerve him. Moſt authors agree, that he occaſioned his own death by abſtaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till ſome years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were alſo granted the honour of a triumph; the firſt for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, ſent to demand his ſon, who had been confined in priſon, after having been led in triumph. He excuſed himſelf for his attachment to the party of Perſeus, and offered a great ranſom for the priſoner. The ſenate, without receiving his excuſes, replied, that having more regard to his ancient ſervices than late fault, they would ſend back his ſon, but without accepting any ranſom. That the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they choſe rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of thoſe they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

THIS ſecond article includes the ſpace of ſomething more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perſeus, to the taking and deſtruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECT. I. ATTALUS *comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their ſucceſs in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians preſent themſelves before the ſenate, and endeavour to appeaſe their wrath. After long and warm ſollicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exerciſed againſt the Ætolians. All of them in general, who had favoured* PERSEUS, *are cited to Rome, to anſwer for their conduct. A thouſand Achæans carried thither:* POLYBIUS *one of the number. The ſenate baniſhes them into ſeveral towns of Italy. After ſeventeen years of baniſhment, they are ſent back into their own country; when only three hundred of them remained.*

AMONGST the different embaſſies from kings and ſtates, which came to Rome after the victory over Perſeus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him, (*a*) more than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Aſiatick Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the neceſſity of going to Rome, to implore the republick's aid againſt thoſe Barbarians. Another ſtill more ſpecious reaſon had obliged him to make that voyage. It was neceſſary to congratulate the Romans upon their laſt victory, and to receive the applauſes he deſerved for the part he had taken in the war againſt Perſeus, and for having ſhared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity, that a prince could expect, who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a conſtant and determinate attachment for A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 167.

(*a*) Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

the Romans. He had a moſt favourable reception and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All theſe honours, the real cauſe of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not ſuggeſted to him. The greateſt part of the Romans had no longer any eſteem or affection for Eumenes. His ſecret negociations with Perſeus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their ſide, and that he only waited an occaſion to declare againſt them. Full of this prejudice, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Romans, in their private converſations with Attalus, adviſed him not to mention the buſineſs his brother had ſent him to treat; but to ſpeak ſolely of what related to himſelf. They gave him to underſtand, that the ſenate, to whom Eumenes was become ſuſpected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perſeus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himſelf, upon whom they could rely as an aſſured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy, and theſe detached lines may ſerve to unveil it upon other occaſions, when more attentive to conceal itſelf.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject ſuch pleaſing hopes, when they preſented themſelves to him without being ſollicited. He liſtened therefore to theſe diſcourſes and this propoſal, and the rather, becauſe they came from ſome of the principal perſons of Rome, whoſe wiſdom he eſteemed, and whoſe probity he reſpected. The affair went ſo far, that he promiſed them to demand in the ſenate, that part of his brother's kingdom ſhould be given to him.

Attalus had a phyſician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, ſuſpecting his brother, had ſent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to

to recall him to his duty by good counſel, if he ſhould happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very inſinuating, and well adapted to perſuaſion. Having either diſcovered, or learned from Attalus himſelf, the deſign that had been inſtilled into him, he took the advantage of ſome favourable moments to open himſelf to him. He repreſented, That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itſelf, and but very lately eſtabliſhed, had ſubſiſted, and been improved ſolely by the union and good underſtanding of the brothers who poſſeſſed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect. That Eumenes, having no male iſſue (for the ſon he had afterwards, and who ſucceeded him, was not then in being) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom was therefore inconteſtable; and that, conſidering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for ſuch ſucceſſion could not be very remote. And wherefore then ſhould he anticipate and haſten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would ſoon happen in a juſt and natural manner? Did he deſire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by ſuch diviſion, and expoſed to the enterpriſes of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the conſequence. That if he propoſed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private perſon, or ſend him, at his years, into baniſhment? or, in a word, would he cauſe him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but ſuch thoughts muſt give him horrour. That, not to ſpeak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal diſcord, the recent example of Perſeus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the ſceptre from his brother, by ſhedding his blood, purſued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the ſame ſceptre at the feet of a victor, in the temple of

Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preſide there, the witneſſes and avengers of his guilt. That he was aſſured, the very perſons, who leſs out of friendſhip for him, than ill will for Eumenes, gave him at preſent ſuch pernicious counſels, would be the firſt to praiſe his tender and conſtant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the laſt. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expoſe the kingdom of Pergamus in the preſent conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of diſcord in this manner between brothers! Of what value muſt a ſincere, prudent, and diſintereſted friend appear at ſuch a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give thoſe who approach him the liberty of ſpeaking freely, and without reſerve to him; and of being known by them in that light! The wiſe remonſtrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the ſenate, without ſpeaking againſt his brother, or demanding a diviſion of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himſelf with congratulating the ſenate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modeſtly diſplayed the zeal and affection with which he had ſerved in the war againſt Perſeus. He deſired, that they would ſend ambaſſadors to check the inſolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former ſtate; and concluded with requeſting, that the inveſtiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perſeus, and the poſſeſſion diſputed with him by Eumenes.

The ſenate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to ſpeak in particular of his pretenſions upon part of his brother's dominions, promiſed beforehand to ſend ambaſſadors according to his demand, and made the prince the uſual preſents. They promiſed beſides to put him into poſſeſſion of the

two cities, as he deſired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the ſenate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promiſe they had made him; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They ſent, however, an embaſſy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different inſtructions to thoſe demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the maſk entirely at this time, and ſhowed an aſpect very unlike the frankneſs and probity of their anceſtors.

The ſenate ſome days (*b*) after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noiſe. They were at firſt refuſed to be heard, as having rendered themſelves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war againſt them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, ſent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the ſenate with great difficulty, they appeared there as ſuppliants, dreſſed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Aſtymedes ſpoke, and with a voice interrupted with ſighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to ſhow at firſt his deſire to juſtify it. He knew, that it had juſtly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confeſſed its faults; he called to mind the indiſcreet embaſſy, which the inſolent pride of the orator who ſpoke, had rendered ſtill more criminal: but he begged the ſenate to make ſome difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private perſons diſavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He repreſented, that there was no republick nor city, that did not include ſome bad members. That after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words; fooliſh indeed, raſh, extravagant (which he confeſſed to be the characteriſticks and failings of his nation) but ſuch as wiſe perſons

(*b*) Polyb. Legat. xciii—xcix, c, & civ. Liv. l. xlv. n. 20—25

ſeldom lay much ſtreſs upon, or puniſh with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that ſpeak with little reſpect of his divinity. "But, "(ſaid he) the neutrality obſerved by us in the late "war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our en- "mity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in the "world, wherein the intention, when without effect, "is puniſhed as the action itſelf? But let your ſeve- "rity be carried to that exceſs, at moſt the puniſh- "ment can only fall on thoſe who have had this in- "tention, and then the majority of us are innocent. "Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction "make us all criminal; ought the real ſervices we "have rendered you, in the two preceding wars, to "be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the "omiſſion imputed to us in the laſt? Let Philip, "Antiochus, and Perſeus bear witneſs now in our "cauſe. The voices of the two firſt will certainly "be for us, and abſolve us; and, for the third, "at moſt, and in the ſevereſt ſenſe, the ſentence "muſt appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you "then, according to this ſtate of the queſtion, paſs "a fatal decree againſt Rhodes; for you are now "upon the point of deciding, whether it ſhall ſubſiſt "any longer, or be entirely deſtroyed? You may de- "clare war againſt us; but not a ſingle Rhodian will "take up arms againſt you. If you perſiſt in your "reſentment, we demand time to go and report our "deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our "whole city, men, women, and free perſons, will em- "bark, with all our eſtates and effects; we will aban- "don our houſehold gods, as well publick as private, "and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown "our gold and ſilver, and all we have, at your feet, "we will deliver up ourſelves, our wives, and our "children, to your diſcretion. We will ſuffer here "before your eyes, whatever you ſhall think fit to "inflict

* Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum eſſe ut ſiquis vellet inimicum perire, ſi nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. *Liv.*

" inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be " plundered and ſet on fire, at leaſt we ſhall ſpare our- " ſelves the ſight of that calamity. You may by your " reſolves declare yourſelves our enemies; but there " is a ſecret ſenſe in the bottom of our hearts, that " declares quite the contrary, and aſſures us, that " whatever hoſtilities you may act againſt us, you will " never find us otherwiſe than friends and ſervants."

After this diſcourſe, the deputies proſtrated themſelves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the ſenators, with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the ſenate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had ſerved in Macedonia in quality of conſuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had moſt experienced their fooliſh pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much againſt them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated cenſor, known by the ſeverity of his character, which often roſe to hardneſs of heart, was ſoftened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and ſpoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his diſcourſe, becauſe it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitled, De Originibus, wherein he had inſerted his own orations.

The world has reaſon to regret the loſs of ſo valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius (*c*) has preſerved ſome fragments of this diſcourſe of Cato's; by which it appears, he made uſe of almoſt the ſame reaſons with the ambaſſadors at Rhodes. I ſhall cite ſome paſſages of it at the bottom of the page, to aſſiſt the reader in knowing and diſtinguiſhing the manly and energetical ſtyle, which characterized the Roman eloquence in thoſe ancient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

Cato * begins his diſcourſe by repreſenting to the Romans,

(*c*) Liv. l. vii. c. v.

* Scio ſolere pleriſque hominibus rebus ſecundis atque proſperis animum excellere, ſuperbiam atque ferociam augeſcere atque creſcere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ eſt, quia hæc res

Romans, that they ought not to abandon themſelves to the extravagance of exceſſive joy. That proſperity generally excites pride and inſolence. That he apprehends, in the preſent caſe, they may form reſolutions, which may draw ſome misfortune upon Rome, and cauſe the frivolous joy, to which they give themſelves up, to vaniſh like a dream. "Adverſity (ſays he) "in humbling the ſpirit, reſtores us to our reaſon, "and teaches us what is neceſſary to be done. Proſ- "perity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out "of our way, by the joy it occaſions, and makes us "loſe ſight of the meaſures, which a calm ſituation "of mind would enable us to diſcern, and execute. "It is therefore, fathers, I am abſolutely of opinion, "that we ſhould defer the deciſion of this affair, till "having recovered from the violent emotions of our "joy, we may be maſters of ourſelves, and capable "of deliberating with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far "from deſiring that the Romans ſhould have con- "quered Perſeus; but that they had ſuch ſentiments "in common with all other ſtates; ſentiments, which "did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, "but from the love of their own liberty; for which "they had juſt cauſe to fear, when there ſhould be "none in a condition to diſpute empire with us, and "we ſhould become abſolute maſters of all nations. "For the reſt, the Rhodians did not aid Perſeus. "Their whole * crime, by the conſent of their moſt "violent accuſers, is to have intended to declare war "againſt us. But how long has the will, the inten- "tion only, been a crime? Is there are any one amongſt "us

res tam ſecunde proceſſit, nequid in conſulendo adverſi eveniat, quod noſtras ſecundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxurioſe eveniat. Adverſæ res ſe domant, & docent quid opus ſit facto: ſecundæ res lætitia tranſverſum trudere ſolent à recte conſulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico ſuadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in poteſtatem noſtram redeamus.

* Qui acerrime adverſus eos dicit, ita dicit; hoſtes voluiſſe fieri. Et quis tandem eſt noſtrûm, qui, quod ad ſeſe attinet, æquam cenſeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluiſſe? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet nolim.

" us, that would be willing to ſubject himſelf to this " rule? For my part, I am ſure, I would not. The " * Rhodians, it is ſaid, are proud, I ſhould be very " ſorry that my children could juſtly make me that " reproach. But, pray, in what does their pride af- " fect us? Would it become us to make it a crime in " them to be prouder than we are?"

The opinion of ſo grave and venerable a ſenator as Cato, prevented a war againſt the Rhodians. The anſwer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in ſuſpence. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Thoſe provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of puniſhment. They were ordered alſo to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the firſt for two hundred talents (about twenty five thouſand pounds) of Ptolemy's general, and the ſecond had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from thoſe two cities an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents (or fifteen thouſand pounds). At the ſame time the ſenate granted the iſland of Delos an exemption from cuſtoms, which conſiderably diminiſhed the revenues of the Rhodians. For inſtead of a million of drachmas (about five-and-twenty thouſand pounds ſterling) to which the revenue from thoſe cuſtoms amounted before, it paid afterwards only an hundred and fifty thouſand (about three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds ſterling).

The ſenate's anſwer, having diſpelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms againſt the republick, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to inſenſible of ſmall ones. How hard ſoever thoſe orders were, they ſubmitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed at

* Rhodienſes ſuperbos eſſe aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi à liberis meis minime dici velim. Sint ſanè ſuperbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne iraſcimini, ſiquis ſuperbior eſt quam nos?

at the ſame time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of * ten thouſand pieces of gold and choſe their admiral Theodotus to preſent it. He had orders to ſollicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almoſt an hundred and forty years they had ſhared in the moſt glorious expeditions of that republick; which was a fetch of their politicks. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; that continuing free, and their own maſters, they might either aid the kings in diſtreſs, or be ſupported by them upon occaſion. In the preſent conjuncture, they earneſtly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to ſecure themſelves againſt other powers, for they were in no apprehenſions of any beſides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all ſuſpicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republick. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm ſollicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Aſia, whither he had been ſent in quality of commiſſioner, to examine into its condition, was of great ſervice to them upon this occaſion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the ſenate's orders, and had condemned the partiſans of Perſeus to death. After ſo favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before obſerved, (*d*) that the Ætolians had preſented themſelves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The ſubject of their complaints was, that Lyciſchus and Tiſippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whoſe intereſts they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had ſurrounded the ſenate with ſoldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death

(*d*) Liv l. xlv. n. 28—32.

* *This might amount to about ſix thouſandspounds, reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσοῦς) at twelve ſhillings, or thereabouts.*

death five hundred and fifty of the principal perſons of the nation, whoſe ſole crime was their having ſeemed to favour Perſeus; that a great number of others had been ſent into baniſhment, and that the eſtates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accuſers. The enquiry was confined to knowing, not on which ſide the injuſtice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perſeus or the Romans. The murtherers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been baniſhed, juſtly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned, if it was juſt; or if not, why were thoſe acquitted, who had been the principal authors of it?

This ſentence gave great terrour to all who had expreſſed any inclination for Perſeus, and exceedingly increaſed the pride and inſolence of the partiſans of Rome. The principal perſons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the king; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themſelves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppreſſive ſubjection. A third kind of citizens, in oppoſition to the other two, obſerved a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publickly aſſerting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much eſteemed and beloved in their ſeveral cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embaſſies, honours, and rewards, were conferred ſolely upon thoſe who eſpouſed the Roman intereſt, after the defeat of Perſeus; and they employed their credit in utterly deſtroying all thoſe who differed from themſelves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commiſſioners, appointed by the ſenate to regulate affairs. They gave them to underſtand, that beſides thoſe who had declared publickly for Perſeus, there were abundance of

others.

others ſecretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of aſſerting liberty, influenced the whole people againſt them, and that thoſe cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly ſubject to the Romans, unleſs, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of thoſe, who had only the intereſt of the commonwealth at heart, was fully eſtabliſhed. The ten commiſſioners perfectly reliſhed thoſe reaſons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What juſtice could be expected from an aſſembly that was determined to conſider, and treat all as criminals, who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all who ſhould declare themſelves their accuſers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours? We ſee here to what lengths ambition and the luſt of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all ſenſe of duty and decency, and induce them to ſacrifice juſtice, as well as every thing elſe, when it oppoſes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occaſion. The Roman general, to whom a liſt had been given of all thoſe who were ſuſpected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commiſſioners were ſent alſo into Aſia, in order to take informations againſt ſuch as, in publick or private, had favoured Perſeus.

A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Of all the ſmall ſtates of Greece (*e*), none gave the Roman republick ſo much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was compoſed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obſtacle to their ambitious deſigns, eſpecially if they ſhould join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, ſpared no pains to weaken it by introducing diviſions, and gaining creatures, whom they raiſed by their

(*e*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417.

their credit to all employments, and by whoſe means they decided in all the aſſemblies of the league. We have ſeen what paſſed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now ſpeak of, the Romans gave the laſt ſtroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perſeus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had ſold himſelf, the ruin of the partiſans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldneſs to accuſe by name all thoſe to the ten commiſſioners, whom he ſuſpected to have had any inclination to ſupport Perſeus. They did not think it would ſuffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other ſtates, that they ſhould ſend ſuch of their citizens to Rome, as were accuſed of having favoured Perſeus; but they ſent two deputies to declare in perſon that order to the league. Two reaſons induced them to act in this manner. The firſt was, their fear that the Achæans who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, ſhould refuſe obedience to the letters that ſhould be written them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the riſque of their lives in the aſſembly: the ſecond, becauſe in the letters, which had been found amongſt Perſeus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accuſed Achæans.

The two commiſſioners ſent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injuſtice than the other, (Pauſanias does not ſay which) complained in the aſſembly, that many of the moſt powerful perſons of the league had aſſiſted Perſeus againſt the Romans, and demanded, that they ſhould be condemned as deſerving death, after which he ſhould name them. The whole aſſembly was ſhocked at this propoſal, and cried out on all ſides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn perſons before it was declared who they were, and preſſed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated inſtances to explain himſelf, he replied, at the ſuggeſtion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered

them-

themſelves guilty of that crime. Xeon, upon that, who was a perſon of great credit, and very much reſpected by the league, ſpoke to this effect: "I have "commanded the armies, and have had the honour "to be the chief magiſtrate of the league; I proteſt "that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the "intereſts of the Romans, which I am ready to prove "either in the aſſembly of the Achæans, or at Rome "before the ſenate." The Roman took hold of this expreſſion as favourable to his deſigns, and decreed, that all thoſe who had been charged by Callicrates ſhould be ſent to Rome, in order to juſtify themſelves there. The whole aſſembly was in the higheſt affliction upon this ſentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his ſon Alexander. Thoſe princes, though irreſiſtibly powerful, never conceived the thought of cauſing ſuch as oppoſed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphyctions, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may juſtly be called tyrannical, cauſed above a thouſand of the moſt conſiderable citizens of the Achæan league to be ſeiſed and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horrour and deteſtation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him and ſhunned his preſence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the publick baths after him, till all the water had been firſt emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated hiſtorian, was of the number of theſe exiles. We have ſeen Lycortas, his father, diſtinguiſh himſelf by the fortitude and conſtancy with which he ſupported the intereſts of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his ſon. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great ſtateſman, for his maſter; and for war, Philopœmen, one of the moſt able and intrepid generals of antiquity, it was under theſe tutors he imbibed thoſe learned leſſons of government and war, which he

the practiſed himſelf, and has tranſmitted to poſterity in his writings.

As ſoon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greateſt men of the republick cultivate his friendſhip. He was particularly intimate with the two ſons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldeſt of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngeſt into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, ſon of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged ſufficiently, in the concluſion of the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendſhip of Polybius with this ſecond ſon of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of ſuch a friend, and knew how to apply his leſſons and counſels to the beſt advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius compoſed the greateſt part of his hiſtory, or at leaſt collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the ſenate, without hearing or examining their cauſe, ſuppoſing, without any foundation, and contrary to the moſt known truth, that they had been tried and ſentenced in the aſſembly of the Achæans, baniſhed them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans *(f)* ſurpriſed and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, ſent deputies to Rome, to demand that the ſenate would vouchſafe to take cognizance of their cauſe. They were anſwered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themſelves. Upon that reply, the Achæans ſent back the ſame deputies to Rome (with Euræas at their head) to proteſt again before the ſenate, that thoſe Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in conſequence, entered the ſenate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders

(f) Polyb. legat. 97.

he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accuſation, and not ſuffer the accuſed to periſh, without paſſing ſentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wiſhed the ſenate would examine the affair themſelves, and make known the guilty; but, in caſe their other great affairs ſhould not afford them leiſure for ſuch enquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them juſtice in ſuch a manner, as ſhould evidence the greatneſs of their averſion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the ſenate was very much at a loſs how to anſwer it. On the one ſide, they did not think it proper to try the cauſe, for the accuſation was groundleſs; on the other, to diſmiſs the exiles, without paſſing judgement upon them, was to loſe irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The ſenate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more ſubmiſſive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other ſtates to the partiſans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles conſiſted with theirs, or the intereſt of their country. This anſwer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a conſternation. An univerſal mourning ſucceeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing further to hope for the accuſed Achæans, and that their baniſhment was perpetual.

However (*g*), they ſent new deputies, with inſtructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as ſuppliants, and as a favour; leſt in taking upon them their defence, they ſhould ſeem ever ſo little to oppoſe the will of the ſenate. There did not eſcape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and ſufficiently reſerved. Notwithſtanding which, the ſenate continued inflexible, and declared, that they would perſiſt in the regulations already made.

A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. The Achæans (*h*) would not be rejected, and appointed ſeveral deputations at different times, but with

(*g*) Polyb. Legat. cxxi. (*h*) Id. Legat. cxxix, cxxx.

with no better ſucceſs; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to perſevere thus in their applications to the ſenate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated inſtances had no other effect than to place the injuſtice of the Romans in full light, they could not be conſidered as unneceſſary. Many of the ſenators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to ſend home the exiles.

The Achæans, (*i*) having received advice of this favourable diſpoſition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a laſt deputation. The exiles had been already baniſhed ſeventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the ſenate; ſome being for their return into their country, and their being reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates; and others oppoſing it. Scipio, at the requeſt of Polybius, had ſollicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave ſenator, riſing up to ſpeak in his turn: "To ſee us (ſaid he) diſpute "an whole day, whether ſome poor old men of Greece "ſhall be interred by our grave-diggers, or thoſe of "their own country, would not one believe, that we "had nothing at all to do?" That pleaſantry was all that was wanting to make the ſenate aſhamed of ſo long a conteſt, and to determine it at laſt to ſend back the exiles into Peloponneſus. Polybius was for deſiring, that they might be re-inſtated in all the honours and dignities they poſſeſſed before their baniſhment; but before he preſented that requeſt to the ſenate, he thought proper to ſound Cato upon it, who told him, ſmiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wiſdom "of Ulyſſes. You are for returning into the cave of "the Cyclops for ſome miſerable tatters you have left "there." The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thouſand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no uſe of this permiſſion, or if he did, he ſoon rejoined Scipio, ſeeing three years after he was with him at the ſiege of Carthage.

(*i*) Plut. in Cato Cenſ. p. 341.

SECT. II. *Mean flatteries of* PRUSIAS, *king of Bithynia, in the ſenate.* EUMENES, *become ſuſpected by the Romans, is not ſuffered to enter Rome.* ARIARATHES, *king of Cappadocia, dies, and is ſucceeded by a ſon of the ſame name. Death of* EUMENES. ATTALUS, *his brother, ſucceeds him, as guardian to his ſon, then very young. War between* ATTALUS *and* PRUSIAS. *The latter having formed the deſign of putting his ſon* NICOMEDES *to death, is killed by him. Embaſſy of three celebrated Athenian philoſophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marſeilles. Digreſſion upon the city of Marſeilles.*

AFTER the defeat of Perſeus, new embaſſies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to juſtify or excuſe themſelves for the attachment they ſeemed to have to that prince; and ſome came to lay complaints before the ſenate in regard to ſome allies. We have ſeen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this ſection I ſhall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Pruſias, king of Bithynia, and ſome other particular affairs.

A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186. Pruſias being come to Rome, (*a*) to make the ſenate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good ſucceſs of the war againſt Perſeus, diſhonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the ſenate for that purpoſe, he appeared with his head ſhaved, and with the cap, habit, ſhoes and ſtockings of a ſlave made free; and ſaluting the deputies, *You ſee*, ſaid he, *one of your freed men ready to fulfil whatſoever you ſhall pleaſe to command, and to conform entirely to all your cuſtoms.* When he entered the ſenate, he ſtood at the door, facing the ſenators who ſat, and proſtrating himſelf, kiſſed the threſhold. Afterwards, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, *I ſalute you, gods preſervers*, cried he; and went on with a diſcourſe ſuitable to that prelude,

(*a*) Polyb. Legat. xcvii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

prelude. Polybius ſays, that he ſhould be aſhamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had poſſeſſed themſelves without any right or pretenſion. He then recommended his ſon Nicomedes to them. All he aſked was granted him; only commiſſioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in queſtion. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject ſubmiſſions of Pruſias; of which he pretends the Roman hiſtorians ſay nothing: he contents himſelf with mentioning, in the concluſion, part of what Polybius had ſaid before, and with ſome reaſon. For that baſe deportment at leaſt diſhonoured the ſenate as much, who ſuffered, as the prince who acted it.

Pruſias had ſcarce left Rome (*b*), when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the ſenate ſome trouble. Eumenes, in the war againſt Perſeus, had behaved in ſuch a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reaſon for violent ſuſpicions; but no certain proofs againſt him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themſelves under the neceſſity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whoſe character they were little acquainted with. To avoid theſe inconveniencies, the ſenate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republick, they forbad all kings in general to enter that city, and cauſed that ordinance to be ſignified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loſs to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies (*c*) and cooled the affection of his allies. Pruſias ſent an ambaſſador to A. M. 3839 Ant. J. C. 165.

(*b*) Polyb. Legat. xcvii. cvi. cxix. cxxi.

(*c*) Ibid. Legat. xcvii. cii. civ. cv.

to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held ſecret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all thoſe injuriouſly who ſeemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction to the ſenate's decrees in their behalf. That people had alſo ſent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated ſeveral times, as well as Pruſias. The ſenate did not yet declare themſelves. They contented themſelves with aiding and ſupporting the Gallo-Grecians underhand, to the utmoſt of their power, without doing any manifeſt injuſtice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, ſent his brothers, Attalus and Athæneus, thither, to anſwer the accuſations he was charged with. The apology they made ſeemed finally to confute all complaints againſt the king, and the ſenate were ſo well ſatisfied with it, that they ſent them back into Aſia, laden with honours and preſents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived againſt their brother. The ſenate diſpatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themſelves ſecretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting ſome deſign againſt the Romans.

Sulpicius (*d*) acted in this commiſſion with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring againſt Eumenes. When he arrived in Aſia, he cauſed all the cities to be informed, that ſuch as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accuſations people thought fit to form againſt Eumenes: a liberty that ſet all malcontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies!

A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Tiberius Gracchus, whom the ſenate ſent the following year into Aſia upon the ſame account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which con-

(*d*) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 145.

convinced him there was nothing to fear from thoſe two kings, and induced him to make his report to the ſenate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the ſiſter of Eumenes. That prince died ſome time after. His ſon Ariarathes, (*e*) ſurnamed Philopator ſucceeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to reſign his kingdom to him, to which his ſon would never conſent; from whence he was called *Philopatèr*, that is, *lover of his father*. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide. A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162.

As ſoon as the young king aſcended the throne (*f*), he ſent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans ſhould be renewed, which was granted him, with praiſes.

Some time after, (*g*) notwithſtanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers ſet in his place, who was a ſuppoſed ſon, named Holofernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The uſurper and Demetrius ſent their ambaſſadors alſo thither. The ſenate decreed, that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. It was a policy ſufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and ſow the ſeeds of an eternal diviſion between them. Attalus, in the firſt year of his reign, re-eſtabliſhed him in the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor. A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

Eumenes was always ſuſpected by the Romans, and almoſt continually at war with Pruſias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight * years. He left for his ſucceſſor (*h*) in the kingdom, his ſon Attalus, ſurnamed Philometer, then

(*e*) Diod. Eleg. p. 89 c. (*f*) Polyb. Legat. cxxi. (*g*) Id. Legat. cxxvi. (*h*) Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

* *Strabo ſays, he reigned forty-three years, but that is preſumed to be an error.*

then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, ſiſter of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his ſon, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and twenty years.

Polybius beſtows great praiſes on Eumenes. The body of that prince, ſays he, was weak and delicate, his ſoul great, and abounding with the moſt noble ſentiments. He gave place to none of the kings (*i*) his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleneſs of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, conſiſted only of a very ſmall number of cities, which ſcarce deſerved that name. He rendered it ſo powerful, that it might have diſputed pre-eminence with almoſt all the greateſt kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; ſtill uſing the words of Polybius. Every thing was the reſult of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondneſs for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private perſons, than any prince. To finiſh his character, he poſſeſſed ſo fully the art of engaging the reſpect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themſelves, and ſhared with him in the functions of the ſovereignty, they never failed in point of ſubmiſſion, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his ſervice, aſſiſted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find ſuch an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or, at leaſt, conſiderably augmented it: but I ſhall ſpeak of that elſewhere.

A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. The diviſion (*k*) which had almoſt perpetually ſubſiſted

(*i*) Polyb. Exempt. Virt. & Vit. p. 166. (*k*) Polyb. Legat. cxxviii, cxxix. cxxxiii. cxxxv. cxxxvi.

ſiſted between Pruſias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who ſucceeded the latter. Pruſias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted, that he had failed of ſeiſing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the ſtatues and temples of the gods; burning and deſtroying all before him in his march. Attalus ſent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate, who ſent ſeveral embaſſies at different times to forbid Pruſias to continue the war againſt Attalus; but he eluded thoſe orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to ſeiſe the Roman ambaſſador and Attalus. His deſign was diſcovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the leſs upon that account. Rome at other times would have puniſhed it with the deſtruction of his kingdom. At this ſhe was contented with ſending ten commiſſioners, with inſtructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Pruſias to make Attalus ſatisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had aſſembled numerous armies both by ſea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came, that the commiſſioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After ſome conferences upon the preſent affair, they ſet out for Bithynia, where they declared to Pruſias the orders they were charged with from the ſenate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions preſcribed him; but refuſed to comply with moſt of the reſt. The commiſſioners, exaſperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and reſuming immediately their rout to Pergamus, left Pruſias in terrible apprehenſions. They adviſed Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the firſt to commit hoſtilities; and ſome of them returned to Rome, to inform the ſenate of the rebellion of Pruſias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commiſſioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and ſign a treaty of peace, which they pre-

A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

preſented him. This treaty imported; that Pruſias ſhould give immediately twenty decked ſhips to Attalus; that he ſhould pay him five hundred talents (five hundred thouſand crowns) in the ſpace of twenty years; and that the two kings ſhould keep within the bounds of their own dominions, ſuch as they ſtood before the war; that Pruſias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of ſome neighbouring cities, which were named, ſhould pay them an hundred talents, (an hundred thouſand crowns.) When he had accepted and ſigned theſe conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by ſea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occaſioned by the differences between Attalus and Pruſias.

Attalus the younger, (*l*) ſon of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two ſtates, made a voyage to Rome; in order to make himſelf known to the ſenate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them alſo for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the ſenate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours ſuitable to his years; after which he ſet out for his dominions.

A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Pruſias (*m*) alſo ſent afterwards his ſon Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly conſidered there, he gave him inſtructions to demand, that the ſenate would remit him the remainder of the ſum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embaſſy, to whom he had given ſecret orders to diſpatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a ſecond wife. The favour demanded by Pruſias was refuſed, Attalus's ambaſſadors demonſtrating, that the whole ſum was far from being equal to the loſſes his maſter had ſuſtained from him. Menas, inſtead of executing the horrid commiſſion he was charged with, diſcovered the whole to Nicomedes. The

(*l*) Polyb. Legat. cxi. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

(*m*) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175.

The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murtherous deſigns of his father. Supported by the aſſiſtance of Attalus, he revolted againſt him, and drew over the greateſt part of the people into his party; for Pruſias was univerſally hated for his oppreſſions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his ſubjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was ſlain by ſoldiers ſent by Nicomedes, or, according to ſome, by Nicomedes himſelf. What horrours on each ſide! Pruſias was called *the hunter*, and had reigned at leaſt ſix-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge. A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

The king of Bithynia's perſon (*n*) had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in ſize but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous but ſoft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and moſt of all, amongſt the Bithynians. Polite learning, philoſophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In ſhort, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his ſubjects, upon the firſt dawn of hope, joined with the utmoſt ardour in meaſures againſt him, and to puniſh him in the ſame manner he had governed them.

I have deferred ſpeaking of two embaſſies, which arrived at Rome very near the ſame time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a ſentence paſſed on them by the Sicyonians (*o*), but under the authority of the Roman ſenate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having laid waſte the lands of the city of Oropus, ſent to demand the remiſſion of that fine. The ambaſſadors were three celebrated philoſophers; Carneades, of the ſect A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

(*n*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

(*o*) Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. viii. c. 14.

ſect of the Academicks; Diogenes, of the Stoicks; and Critolaus, of the Peripateticks. The taſte for eloquence and philoſophy had not yet made its way ſo far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are ſpeaking, that it began to ſpread there, and the reputation of theſe three philoſophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taſte for the ſciences, made it their honour and amuſement to viſit them, and were ſtruck with admiration in hearing them, eſpecially Carneades, whoſe lively and graceful eloquence, in which ſolidity and ornament exalted each other, tranſported and enchanted them. It was univerſally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and ſoftening the moſt violent paſſions by his eloquence, inſpired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleaſures and employments, to abandon themſelves wholly to philoſophy. He had for his auditors all the moſt conſiderable perſons of Rome. His diſcourſes, tranſlated into Latin by one of the ſenators, were in all hands. All Rome ſaw, with great joy, their children apply themſelves to the Grecian learning, and inſeparable from thoſe wonderful men. Cato only ſeemed ſorry for it; apprehending, that this taſte for polite learning would extinguiſh that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of ſpeaking, to that of acting well. The example of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, educated at the ſame time under the care of Polybius, in a taſte for the ſciences, demonſtrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the ſenators for keeping the ambaſſadors ſo long in the city, and having cauſed the affair that brought them thither to be diſpatched, he haſtened their departure. By a decree of the ſenate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

The

The other embaſſy was ſent by the (*p*) people of Marſeilles. They had already been often harraſſed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now ſpeak, they were reduced to the laſt extremities, and ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to implore aid of the ſenate. They came to a reſolution to ſend deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to ſentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negociation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their inſolence ſo far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their perſons. The ſenate being informed of this unhappy affair, made the conſul Quintus Opimius march immediately againſt them with an army. He laid ſiege to the city (*q*) where the inſult had been offered to the Roman ambaſſadors, took it by ſtorm, made ſlaves of the inhabitants, and ſent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be puniſhed there according to their deſerts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in ſeveral battles. The victor diſtributed all the conquered lands amongſt the people of Marſeilles. He ordered the Ligurians to ſend hoſtages to Marſeilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from moleſting the people of Marſeilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marſeilles in extreme conſideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had conſtantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by origin (*r*) of Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes ſent Harpagus to beſiege it, the inhabitants, rather than ſubmit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as ſo many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having caſt a maſs of red-hot iron into the ſea, they all engaged themſelves by oath never

(*p*) Polyb. Legat. cxxxi. & xxxiv. (*q*) *Egitna.* (*r*) Herod. l. i. c. 164. Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 3.

never to return to Phocæa, till that iron ſhould ſwim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coaſt of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they ſettled there, by the conſent of the king of the country, and built a city ſince called Marſeilles. This foundation is ſaid to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus, about the ſecond year of the forty-fifth Olympiad, and ſix hundred years before the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodneſs, being dead, his ſon (*s*) did not ſhow them ſo much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to underſtand, that thoſe ſtrangers, whom he had received into his country, as gueſts and ſuppliants, might one day make themſelves maſters of it by right of conqueſt. The fable of the bitch was made uſe of upon this occaſion, that aſked her companion to lend her her houſe only for eight days, till ſhe had brought forth her whelps; then by great intreaties obtained a ſecond term to bring them up; and at laſt, when they were grown large and ſtrong, made herſelf abſolute miſtreſs and proprietor of the place, from whence ſhe could never afterwards be expelled. The Marſeillians had, in conſequence, at firſt a rude war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet poſſeſſion of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In proceſs of time they ſettled ſeveral (*t*) colonies, and built ſeveral cities; Agde, Nice, Antiba, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arſenals, and fleets, which rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new ſettlements (*u*) contributed to the ſpreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occaſioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient ruſticity by degrees, began to be civilized,

(*s*) Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 4. (*t*) Strab. p. 180. (*u*) Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 4.

lized, and to aſſume more gentle manners. Inſtead of breathing nothing but war, they accuſtomed themſelves to the obſervance of the laws of a wiſe government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives *. Hence ſo ſurpriſing an alteration enſued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been ſaid, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

The (*x*) inhabitants of the new city made very wiſe laws for its polity and government, which was ariſtocratical, that is to ſay, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was compoſed of ſix hundred ſenators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preſide in the aſſemblies, in quality of principal magiſtrates.

The right of hoſpitality (*y*) was in ſingular eſtimation amongſt the Marſeillians, and practiſed by them with the moſt exalted humanity. To maintain the ſecurity of the aſylum they gave to ſtrangers, no perſon was ſuffered to enter the city with arms. Certain perſons were placed at the gates, whoſe buſineſs it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to ſuch as might have been for introducing ſloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to baniſh all double-dealing, falſehood and fraud.

They piqued themſelves (*z*) eſpecially upon ſobriety, modeſty, and frugality. The moſt conſiderable portion amongſt them did not exceed an hundred pieces of gold, that is to ſay, very near an hundred piſtoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dreſs, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus (*a*), who lived in the reign of Tiberus, admires the regulations

(*x*) Strab. l. iv. p. 179. (*y*) Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. (*z*) Strab. l. iv. p. 181. (*a*) Lib. ii. c. 6.

* Adeo magnus & hominibus ſed Gallia in Græciam tranſlata & rebus impoſitus eſt nitor, ut videretur. *Juſtin.* non Græciæ in Galliam emigraſſe

lations of government obſerved at Marſeilles in his time. "That city (ſays he) ſtedfaſtly retaining "the * ancient ſeverity of manners, excluded from "their theatre thoſe comedians whoſe pieces generally "turn upon the ſubject of unlawful love." The reaſon given for this maxim is ſtill finer and more remarkable than the maxim itſelf. "Leſt (adds the "author) a familiarity with ſuch ſort of ſhows ſhould "make the people the more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies thoſe indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to ceaſe the ſame day by a domeſtick ſacrifice, and an entertaiment for the friends and relations of the deceaſed †. "For is it "conſiſtent to abandon ourſelves to immoderate af-"fliction, or to be offended at the Divinity, for not "having thought fit to ſhare his immortality with us?"

Tacitus has a paſſage upon the city of Marſeilles highly in its praiſe; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. After having ſpoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of ‡ Julia Procilla, his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him paſs the moſt early years of his youth in the ſtudy of thoſe arts and ſciences that ſuited his birth and age; he adds, "What had preſerved him from the dangers and diſ-"orders, to which youth is generally expoſed, was, "beſides his own genius and diſpoſition, the good "fortune of having from his infancy the city of "Marſeilles for his ſchool, in the manners of whoſe "inhabitants the politeneſs of the Greeks, and the "ſimplicity and reſerve of the provinces were happily "united." *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipſius*

* Eadem civitas ſeveritatis cuſtos acerrima eſt: nullum aditum in ſcenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte ſtuprorum continent actus, ne talia ſpectandi conſuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam ſumat.

† Etenim quid attinet, aut humano doloro indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem ſuam nobiſcum partiri nolueret?

‡ Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ caſtitatis. In hujus ſinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honeſtarum artium cultum, puritiam adoleſcentiamque tranſegit, *Tacit. in Agricol.* c. iv.

ipſibonam integramque naturam, quòd ſtatim parvulus ſedem ac magiſtram ſtudiorum Maſſiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate & provinciali parſimonia miſtum ac bene compoſitum.

From what I have ſaid may be ſeen, that Marſeilles was become a celebrated ſchool for politeneſs, wiſdom, and virtue, and, at the ſame time, for all arts and ſciences. Eloquence, philoſophy, phyſick, mathematicks, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publickly profeſſed there. This city produced (*b*) the moſt ancient of the learned men of the Weſt, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and aſtronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They perſevered conſtantly in cultivating the arts and ſciences with equal ardour and ſucceſs. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Auguſtus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marſeilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itſelf; which is ſaying a great deal. We have already ſeen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the hiſtorian.

The Marſeillians diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by the wiſdom of their government, than by their capacity and taſte for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republick. * "I am aſſured, (ſays he) "that not only in Greece, but all other nations, "there is nothing comparable to the wiſe polity eſta- "bliſhed at Marſeilles. That city, ſo remote from "the country, manners, and language of all other "Greeks, ſituate in Gaul, in the midſt of barbarous "nations which ſurround it on all ſides, is ſo prudently "directed by the counſels of its elders, that it is

(*b*) Voſſ. in Hiſtor. Græc.

* Cujus ego civitatis diſciplinam atque gravitatem, non ſolum Græciæ, ſed haud ſcio an cunctis gentibus anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, diſciplinis, linguâque diviſa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, ſic optimatum conſilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus inſtituta laudare faciliùs poſſint, quam æmulari. *Orat. pro Flacco*, n. lxiii.

" more eaſy to praiſe, than imitate, the wiſdom of " its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental (*c*) rule of their politicks, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whoſe manners their own were more conformable, than to thoſe of the Barbarians around them. Beſides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common intereſts; that union enabling each party to make powerful diverſions on both ſides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great ſervices at all times, and alſo received conſiderable aids from them upon many occaſions.

Juſtin (*d*) relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marſeillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that diſaſter of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themſelves to fruitleſs tears. Out of the gold and ſilver, either of the publick or private perſons, they raiſed the ſum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and ſent it to Rome. The (*e*) Romans, infinitely affected with ſo noble an act of generoſity, granted Marſeilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of ſitting amongſt the ſenators at the publick ſhows. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marſeilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill ſucceſſes which they experienced in the firſt years of the war, and which had deprived them of almoſt all their allies, not being capable of ſhaking their fidelity in the leaſt.

In the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, that city obſerved a conduct which well denotes the wiſdom of its government. Cæſar (*f*) againſt whom they had ſhut their gates, cauſed the fifteen ſenators, who were

(*c*) Strab. l. iv. p. 180. (*d*) Juſtin. l. xliii. c. 5.
(*e*) Liv. l. xxi. n. 20. 25. 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.
(*f*) Cæſ. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

were in ſupreme authority, to come to his camp, and repreſented to them, that he was ſorry the war ſhould begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to ſubmit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themſelves blindly to the deſires of one man; and he added all the motives moſt capable of perſuading them. After having made their report to the ſenate they returned into the camp, and gave Cæſar this anſwer: * that they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their ſide: that the two heads of thoſe parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the ſame time its friends and benefactors. That for this reaſon, obliged to expreſs their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to aſſiſt, nor recieve the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They (g) ſuffered a long ſiege, in which they ſhowed all poſſible valour; but at length, the extreme neceſſity, to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to ſurrender. However enraged Cæſar was at ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, he could not refuſe to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of ſaving it from being plundered, and of preſerving its citizens.

I ſhould have believed myſelf wanting in ſome meaſure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the higheſt ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of thoſe favourable reports antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digreſſion; which beſides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian hiſtory.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and ſome other countries, which I thought it neceſſary to treat in a ſeries, and without interruption, have made

(g) Cæſ. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

* Intelligere ſe diviſum eſſe populum in partes duas: neque ſui judicii, neque ſuarum virium diſcernere utra pars juſtiorem habeat cauſam: principes vero earum eſſe partium Cn. Pompeium, & C. Cæſarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parem ſe quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, & neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portubus recipere.

me ſuſpend thoſe of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I ſhall begin with Macedonia.

SECT. III. ANDRISCUS, *who gave himſelf out for the ſon of* PERSEUS, *makes himſelf maſter of Macedonia, and cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king. The prætor* JUVENTIUS *attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army.* METELLUS, *who ſucceeds him, retrieves that loſs. The uſurper is overthrown, taken, and ſent to Rome. a ſecond and third uſurper are alſo defeated*

A. M. 3812. Ant. J. C. 152. FIFTEEN or ſixteen years (*a*) after the defeat and death of Perſeus, Andriſcus of Adramytta, a city of Troas, in Aſia Minor, a perſon of the meaneſt birth, giving himſelf out for the ſon of Perſeus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a ſtory in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he paſſed, pretending that he was the ſon of Perſeus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had cauſed him to be ſecretly brought up at Adramytta, that in caſe of ill fortune in the war againſt the Romans, ſome ſhoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perſeus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the perſon who paſſed for his father, finding himſelf at the point of death, had revealed the ſecret to his wife, and entruſted her with a writing, ſigned by Perſeus with his own hand, which atteſted all that had been ſaid; which writing ſhe was to deliver to him (Philip) as ſoon as he ſhould attain to years of diſcretion. He added, that her huſband having conjured her abſolutely to conceal the affair till then, ſhe had been moſt faithful in keeping the ſecret, and had delivered that important writing to him

(*a*) Epiton. Liv. l. xlviii—l. Zonar. ex Dione, l. i. c. 11, Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

him at the appointed time; preſſing him to quit the country, before the report ſhould reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perſeus, leſt he ſhould cauſe him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he ſhould be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia riſe in his favour. When he ſaw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whoſe ſiſter Perſeus had eſpouſed. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, cauſed him to be ſeiſed and ſent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expreſſed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a ſtrict guard upon him, or to confine him cloſe. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his eſcape from Rome. Having found means to raiſe a conſiderable army amongſt the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the ſake of delivering themſelves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himſelf maſter of Macedonia, either by conſent or force, and aſſumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this firſt conqueſt, which had coſt him little, he attacked Theſſaly, and ſubjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to ſeem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Naſica to go thither, and appeaſe this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commiſſion. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his meaſures by perſuaſion; and if he ſhould find it neceſſary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wiſdom, and executing it with valour. As ſoon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the ſtate of affairs in Macedonia and Theſſaly, he gave the ſenate advice of them; and, without loſs of time, viſited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raiſing of troops for the defence of Theſſaly. The

Achæans, who continued at that time the moſt powerful people of Greece, ſupplied him with the greateſt number, forgetting paſt ſubjects of diſcontent. He preſently took from the falſe Philip all the places he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in Theſſaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. However, it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occaſion for a ſpeedy ſupport. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as ſoon as poſſible with an army, which he did without loſs of time. But looking upon Andriſcus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions againſt him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he loſt his life, with part of his army; the reſt ſaving themſelves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this ſucceſs, and believing his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, abandoned himſelf to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reſerve; as if the being truly a king conſiſted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his paſſions. He was covetous, proud, inſolent, and cruel. Nothing was ſeen every where but violence, confiſcations of eſtates, and murthers. Taking the advantage of the terror occaſioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he ſoon recovered all he had loſt in Theſſaly. An embaſſy ſent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had ſucceeded Juventius. Andriſcus had reſolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the ſea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor ſoon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and ſkirmiſhed every day. Andriſcus gained an advantage ſufficiently conſiderable in a ſmall combat of the cavalry. Succeſs generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriſcus, believing himſelf ſuperior to the Romans, ſent off a great

great detachment to defend his conqueſts in Theſſaly. This was a groſs error; and Metellus, whoſe vigilance nothing eſcaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriſcus obliged to fly. He retired amongſt the Thracians, from whom he returned ſoon after with another army. He was ſo raſh as to hazard another battle, which was ſtill leſs ſucceſsful than the former. He had above five-and-twenty thouſand men killed in theſe two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to ſeiſe Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whoſe fidelity he had abandoned himſelf. But the Thracians did not ſtand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their intereſt. That prince delivered up his gueſt and ſuppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himſelf the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriſcus was ſent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who alſo called himſelf the ſon of Perſeus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the ſame fate with the firſt, except being ſeiſed by Metellus: He retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himſelf.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely ſubjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third uſurper, ſome years after, appeared again, and ſet himſelf up as the ſon of Perſeus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of ſhort duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterward ſurnamed *Scrofa*, from having ſaid that he would diſperſe the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos.*

SECT. IV. *Troubles in Achaia; which declares war againſt the Lacedæmonians.* METELLUS *ſends deputies to Corinth to appeaſe thoſe troubles; they are ill uſed and inſulted.* METELLUS, *after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The conſul* MUMMIUS *ſucceeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, ſets it on fire, and entirely demoliſhes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of* POLYBIUS. *Triumphs of* METELLUS *and* MUMMIUS.

A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147.

METELLUS (*a*) after having pacified Macedonia, continued there ſome time. Great commotions had ariſen amongſt the Achæans of the league, occaſioned by the temerity and avarice of thoſe who held the firſt offices. The reſolutions of their aſſemblies were no longer guided by reaſon, prudence, and equity, but by the intereſt and paſſions of the magiſtrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithſtanding, who was the ſupreme magiſtrate of the Achæans, had cauſed war to be declared againſt Sparta. Metellus had ſent to deſire that hoſtilities might ceaſe till the arrival of the commiſſioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who ſucceeded him, paid any regard to that requeſt. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waſte the country.

The commiſſioners being arrived, the aſſembly was ſummoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Oreſtes was at the head of the commiſſion). The ſenate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to ſeparate as many cities as they could from it. Oreſtes notified to the aſſembly the decree of the ſenate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea

(*a*) Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 421—428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii. cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. p. 181—189. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

raclea near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were ſecluded from the league, under pretence, that thoſe cities did not originally compoſe a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the aſſembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore thoſe out of the houſe of the commiſſioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated them no better, had they not eſcaped their violence by flight.

Oreſtes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had paſſed. The ſenate was highly incenſed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with ſome other commiſſioners, into Achaia; but inſtructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counſels, leſt by their imprudence they ſhould incur diſgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by puniſhing thoſe who had expoſed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, ſo that it was neceſſary to act with caution in regard to allies ſo powerful as the Achæans. The commiſſioners met on their way a deputy ſent by the ſeditious to Rome: They carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been ſummoned to aſſemble. They ſpoke in it with great moderation and kindneſs. They did not let ſlip a ſingle word in their diſcourſe concerning the ill treatment of the commiſſioners, or excuſed it better than the Achæans themſelves would have done; and were as reſerved in regard to the cities they had been for ſeparating from the league. They confined themſelves to exhorting them not to aggravate their firſt fault, nor to irritate the Romans any further; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonſtrances were extremely agreeable to all the perſons of ſenſe in the aſſembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all choſen out of the vileſt, moſt impious, and moſt pernicious perſons in each city, blew up the flame of diſcord; inſinuating, that the lenity of the Romans pro-

proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worſted in ſeveral engagements, and from the fear they were in, leſt the Achæan league ſhould declare againſt them.

The commiſſioners, however, were treated with ſufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas ſhould be ſent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegæa *, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, till new commiſſioners ſhould arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their meaſures in ſuch a manner, that nobody, except that magiſtrate, went to the congreſs; and he did not arrive there, till he was almoſt no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any meaſures. He ſaid, that he was not impowered to decide any thing without the conſent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be ſummoned in leſs than ſix months. That bad ſtratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having diſmiſſed the Lacedæmonians, he ſet out for Rome, where he deſcribed Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commiſſioners were no ſooner out of Peloponneſus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and ſummoned aſſemblies, under colour of communicating what had been ſaid to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegeæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives againſt the Romans, and to put an odious conſtruction upon all they had done, in order to inſpire the ſame ſpirit of animoſity and averſion, which he himſelf had againſt them; and he only ſucceeded too well. He, beſides, prohibited all judges from proſecuting and impriſoning any Achæan for debt, till the concluſion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he ſaid had

* *A city on the banks of the Eurotas.*

had all the effect he deſired, and diſpoſed the multitude to receive ſuch orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgements of the future, they ſuffered themſelves to be caught with the bait of the firſt advantage he propoſed to them

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponneſus, deputed thither four Romans of diſtinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was aſſembled there. They ſpoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themſelves, by imprudent raſhneſs and levity, the reſentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiouſly turned out of the aſſembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers roſe about them, and inſulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantick than the reſt, and abandoned to a kind of madneſs. They had been perſuaded, that Rome intended to enſlave them all, and abſolutely to deſtroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, ſeeing with pleaſure that every thing ſucceeded to his wiſhes, harangued the multitude, enflamed them againſt the magiſtrates, who did not enter into his views; flew out againſt the ambaſſadors themſelves; animated them againſt the Romans; and gave them to underſtand, that it was not without previous good meaſures he had undertaken to make head againſt the Romans; that he had kings in his party and that the republicks were alſo ready to join it. By theſe ſeditious diſcourſes he prevailed to have war declared againſt the Lacedæmonians, and, in conſequence, indirectly againſt the Romans. The ambaſſadors then ſeparated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to obſerve the motions of the enemy; another ſet out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magiſtrate of the Bœotians, whoſe name was Pytheas, equally raſh and violent with Critolaus, entered into his meaſures, and engaged the Bœotians to

join their arms with thoſe of the Achæans: they were diſcontented with a ſentence Rome had given againſt them. The city of Chalcis ſuffered itſelf alſo to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with ſuch feeble aids, believed themſelves in a condition to ſupport all the weight of the Roman power; ſo much where they blinded by their rage and fury.

A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146. The Romans had choſen Mummius for one of the conſuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, ſent new ambaſſadors to the Achæans, with promiſes, that the Roman people ſhould forget all that had paſſed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and conſent, that certain cities, which had been propoſed before, ſhould be diſmembered from the league. This propoſal was rejected with diſdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops againſt the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a conſiderable victory over them, in which he took more than a thouſand priſoners. Critolaus diſappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was ſuppoſed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marſhes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his ſtead, gave liberty to the ſlaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe. He gave orders beſides, for the raiſing of troops in every city. The exhauſted cities were in the utmoſt deſolation. Many private perſons, reduced to deſpair, laid violent hands upon themſelves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foreſaw their deſtruction was inevitable. Notwithſtanding the extremity of theſe misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only meaſures that could prevent them. They deteſted the raſhneſs of their chiefs, and nevertheleſs came into their meaſures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with a thouſand Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa,

who were endeavouring to return into their own country; theſe were all put to the ſword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almoſt entirely deſerted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houſes ſhould be ſpared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, ſhould be made priſoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miſeries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Mægara, the garriſon of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had ſhut himſelf up. He ſent thither three of the principal perſons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently deſired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their ſide, were equally deſirous of ſeeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus diſpoſing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into priſon, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not ſeen the multitude extremely enraged at the puniſhment he had inflicted upon Solicrates, who talked of ſurrendering to the Romans. The priſoners were therefore diſmiſſed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had haſtened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and leſt another ſhould have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus reſigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had aſſembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent of duty upon their poſt, the beſieged made a ſally, attacked them vigorouſly, killed many, and purſued the reſt almoſt to the entrance of their camp. This ſmall advantage very much encouraged the

Achæans,

Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the conſul battle. The latter, to augment his raſhneſs, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from acceping it. The joy and preſumption of the Achæans roſe to an inexpreſſible height. They advanced furiouſly with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be ſpectators of the battle, and cauſed a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they ſhould take from the enemy; ſo fully did they aſſure themſelves of the victory.

Never was there a more raſh or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the ſervice and counſels all ſuch as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had ſubſtituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more abſolute maſters of the government, and ruling without oppoſition. The chief, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantick rage. They had already committed an exceſs of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without neceſſity, inſtead of thinking of a long and brave defence in ſo ſtrong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous reſiſtance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the iſthmus. The conſul had poſted part of his horſe in an ambuſcade, which they quitted at a proper time, for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, ſurpriſed by an unforeſeen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more reſiſtance; but, as it was neither covered nor ſuſtained by the horſe, it was ſoon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it ſome time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whoſe ſole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himſelf to his deſpair, he rode full ſpeed to Megalopolis his country; and having

* *This place is not known.*

having entered his houſe, ſet fire to it, killed his wife to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poiſon, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants loſt all hope of defending themſelves. As they found they were without counſel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any further reſiſtance, and oblige the victor to grant them ſome ſupportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and moſt of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to ſave themſelves where they could. The conſul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the ſoldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the ſword, and the women and children ſold; and after the ſtatues, paintings, and richeſt moveables, were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houſes were ſet on fire, and the whole city continued univerſally in flames for ſeveral days. From that time the Corinthian braſs became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended, that the gold, ſilver, and braſs, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demoliſhed, and raſed to their very foundations. All this was excecuted by order of the ſenate, to puniſh the inſolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambaſſadors ſent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the ſame year Carthage was taken and deſtroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation by Aletes the ſon of Hippotes, ſixth in deſcent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raiſing new troops for the defence of the country, or ſummoned any aſſembly to deliberate upon the meaſures it was neceſſary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propoſe any remedy for the publick calamities

mities, or endeavoured to appeaſe the Romans, by ſending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; ſo much had the dreadful deſtruction of that city alarmed, and univerſally diſmayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were alſo puniſhed by the demolition of their walls, and by being diſarmed. The ten commiſſioners ſent by the ſenate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the conſul, aboliſhed popular government in all the cities, and eſtabliſhed magiſtrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the publick funds. In other reſpects, they were left in poſſeſſion of their laws and liberty. They aboliſhed alſo all the general aſſemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-eſtabliſhed ſoon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; becauſe at the taking Corinth, the Achæans were the moſt powerful people of Greece; the Roman people ſent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by deſtroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to ſhow that example of ſeverity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, raſh, and preſuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Beſides which, the advantageous ſituation of that city, where ſuch as revolted might canton themſelves, and make it a place of arms againſt the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not diſapprove of Carthage and Numantia being uſed in that manner, could have wiſhed that Corinth had been ſpared.

The booty taken at Corinth was ſold, and conſiderable

* Majores noſtri——Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus ſuſtulerunt. Sed credo illos ſecutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne poſſet aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipſe adhortari. *Cic. de Offic.* l. i n. 35.

table ſums raiſed from it. Amongſt the paintings there was a piece drawn by the moſt celebrated * hand in Greece, (*a*) repreſenting Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve, had the mortification to ſee that painting ſerve the ſoldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the ſale made of the booty, for ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is, about three thouſand ſix hundred and twenty five pounds ſterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the ſame painter's, which the ſame Attalus purchaſed for an hundred talents, or an hundred thouſand crowns. That prince's riches were immenſe, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus.* Nevertheleſs theſe ſums ſeem repugnant to probability. However it were, the conſul, ſurpriſed that the price of the painting in queſtion ſhould riſe ſo high, interpoſed his authority, and retained it contrary to publick faith, and notwithſtanding the complaints of Attalus; becauſe he imagined there was ſome hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He † did not act in that manner for his private intereſt, nor with the view of appropriating it to himſelf, as he ſent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, ſays Cicero, he adorned and embelliſhed his houſe much more eſſentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richeſt aud moſt opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble diſintereſtedneſs was at that time common in Rome, and ſeemed leſs the virtue of private perſons, than of the age itſelf. To take the advan-

(*a*) Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. & l. xxxv. c. 4. & 10.

* *This painter was called Ariſtides. The picture mentioned here, was in ſuch eſtimation, that it was commonly ſaid.* All paintings are nothing in compariſon to the Bacchus.

† Numquid Lucius Mummius copioſior, cum copioſiſſimam urbem funditus ſuſtuliſſet? Italiam ornare, quam domum ſuam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus ipſa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus abſtinentiæ non hominis eſt ſolum, ſed etiam temporum——— Habere quæſtui remp. non modo turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum etiam & nefarium. *Cic. de Offic.* l. i. n. 76, 77.

tage of office and command for enriching a man's ſelf, was not only ſhameful and infamous, but a criminal abuſe. The painting we ſpeak of, was ſet up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to ſee it out of curioſity, as a maſter-piece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taſte for painting or ſculpture; the merit of which he did not diſtinguiſh; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or ſtatue and ſtatue, nor that the name of the great maſters in thoſe arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the preſent occaſion. * He had ordered perſons to take care of tranſporting many of the paintings and ſtatues of the moſt excellent maſters to Rome. Never had loſs been ſo irreparable, as that of ſuch a depoſite, conſiſting of the maſter-pieces of thoſe rare artiſts, who contributed, almoſt as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to poſterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to thoſe to whom he confided them, threatened them very ſeriouſly, that if the ſtatues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, ſhould be either loſt, or ſpoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own coſt and charges.

Were it not to be wiſhed, ſays an hiſtorian, who has preſerved us this fact, that this happy ignorance ſtill ſubſiſted; and would not ſuch a groſſneſs be infinitely preferable, in regard to the publick good, to the exceeding delicacy of taſte of the preſent age for ſuch ſort of rarities? He ſpoke at a time when that taſte for excellent paintings amongſt the magiſtrates, was

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac ſtatuas in Italiam portendas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, ſi eas perdidiſſent, novas eas reddituras. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenitor, *Vell. Paterc.* l. i. n. 13.

was the occaſion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have ſaid that Polybius, on returning into Peloponneſus, had the affliction to ſee the deſtruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any (*a*) thing was capable of giving him conſolation in ſo mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his maſter, in the ſcience of war. I have already obſerved, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to ſave the ſtatues, erected to that hero, taken down, had the imprudence to proſecute him criminally, as if he had been ſtill alive, and to accuſe him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always oppoſed their deſigns to the utmoſt of his power. That accuſation was extravagant, but had ſome colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He repreſented Philopœmen as the greateſt captain Greece had produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people conſiderable ſervices upon ſeveral occaſions; as in their wars againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commiſſioners, before whom he pleaded ſo noble a cauſe, moved with his reaſons, and ſtill more with his gratitude for his maſter, decreed, that the ſtatues of Philopœmen ſhould continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good diſpoſition, demanded alſo the ſtatues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponneſus into Acarnania. The Achæans were ſo charmed with the zeal Polybius had expreſſed upon this occaſion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a ſtatue of marble to himſelf.

He gave at the ſame time a proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, which did him as much honour amongſt his

(*a*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the deſtruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to puniſh the authors of the inſult done to the Roman ambaſſadors, and their eſtates and effects were ſold by auction. When thoſe of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commiſſioners ordered the quæſtor who ſold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refuſed that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and ſhould have thought himſelf in ſome meaſure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; beſide which, he believed it infamous to enrich himſelf out of the ſpoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing himſelf, but exhorted his friends not to deſire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commiſſioners (*b*) conceive ſo high an eſteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they deſired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accuſtomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws preſcribed them. Polybius diſcharged that honourable commiſſion with ſo much goodneſs, juſtice, and prudence, that no farther conteſts aroſe in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for ſo great a benefit, ſtatues were erected to him in different places; upon the baſe of one of which was this inſcription; *That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if ſhe had hearkened from the firſt to the counſels of Polybius; but, that after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer.*

Polybius, after having eſtabliſhed order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the ſiege of which he was preſent. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there

(*b*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

there (*c*) the eſteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourſcore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horſe.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and ſurnamed Macedonicus. The falſe king, Andriſcus, was led before his chariot. Amongſt the ſpoils, he cauſed what was called the troop of Alexander the Great, to be carried in the proceſſion. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having loſt five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lyſippus, the moſt excellent artiſt in that way, to make each of them an equeſtrian ſtatue, to which he added his own. Theſe ſtatues were ſet up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus cauſed them to be tranſported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained alſo the honour of a triumph, and, in conſequence of having conquered Achaia, was ſurnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of ſtatues and paintings in his triumphs, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the publick buildings at Rome, and of ſeveral other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own houſe.

SECT. V. *Reflexions upon the cauſes of the grandeur, declenſion, and ruin of Greece.*

AFTER having ſeen the final ruin of Greece, which has ſupplied us through a ſeries of ſo many ages with ſuch fine examples of heroick virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and conſider, by way of abridgement, and at one view, the riſe, progreſs, and declenſion of the principal ſtates, that compoſe it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

(*c*) Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy, to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur (*a*) Bossuet observes, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, in effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympick games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the publick. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: The Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most

(*a*) *Universal History.*

moſt of the cities formed themſelves into republicks, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wiſe, reaſonable, and ſubſervient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from tranſacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Beſides this, the condition of private perſons, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abuſing an authority, of which they might ſoon be deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjuſt, and oppreſſive, when under no reſtraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and paſſions, which generally occaſion the ruin of ſtates. They led a laborious and buſy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the huſbandman or the artiſt from the firſt dignities of the ſtate; preſerving between all the citizens and members of the ſtate a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or oſtentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not aſhamed of the moſt common functions either in the armies by land or ſea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the means of fortune, ſimplicity in buildings, moveables, dreſs, equipage, domeſticks, and table. It is ſurpriſing to conſider the ſmall retributions with which they were ſatisfied for their application in publick employments, and ſervices rendered the ſtate.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in theſe principles, and indued from their earlieſt infancy with maxims ſo proper to exalt the ſoul, and to inſpire it with great and noble ſentiments? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could poſſibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, ſhut up within the compaſs of their cities, had but faintly dawned, and ſhone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, ſome great and important occaſion was neceſſary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and expoſed to extreme dangers, was compelled in ſome meaſure to quit her home, and to ſhew herſelf abroad in open day ſuch as ſhe was. And this was ſupplied by the Perſians in their invaſions of Greece, firſt under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Aſia, armed with the whole force of the Eaſt, overflowed on a ſudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by ſea and land, againſt a little ſpot of Greece, which ſeemed under the neceſſity of being entirely ſwallowed up and overwhelmed at the firſt ſhock. Two ſmall cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only reſiſt thoſe formidable armies, but attack, defeat, purſue, and deſtroy the greateſt part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which ſhone out at that time, and continued to do ſo long after on like occaſions. To what were the Greeks indebted for ſuch aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes, ſo much above all probability, unleſs to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a ſecond nature in them?

Thoſe principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, diſregard of ſelf-intereſt, attention to the publick good, deſire of glory, love of their country; but above all, ſuch a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and ſuch an irreconcileable abhorrence for whoever conceived the leaſt thought againſt it, as united

united their counſels, and put an end to all diſſenſion and diſcord in a moment.

There was ſome difference between the republicks as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that ſide they were perfectly equal. The ſtates of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occaſions ſo many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandiſing themſelves, or of making conqueſts, at the expence of each other. They confined themſelves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to uſurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their territory, did not apprehend invaſion from the more powerful. This occaſioned ſuch a multitude of cities, republicks and ſtates of Greece, which ſubſiſted to the lateſt times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, cuſtoms, and uſages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with ſome attention the conduct of theſe people, either at home or abroad, their aſſemblies, deliberations, and motives for the reſolutions they take, we cannot ſufficiently admire the wiſdom of their government; and we are tempted to demand of ourſelves, from whence could ariſe this greatneſs of ſoul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence thoſe noble ſentiments, this conſummate wiſdom in politicks, this profound and univerſal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and conſtruction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or the drawing up and diſpoſing all the motions of an army in battle; add to this, that ſupreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which ſo gloriouſly acquired them the empire of the ſea, and obliged the Perſians to renounce it for ever by a ſolemn treaty?

We ſee here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conqueſts, ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had ſubmitted

to

to the Roman yoke, Aſia, ſubdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuouſneſs; and that change of manners was very ſudden and rapid, eſpecially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was deſtroyed. It was not ſo with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Perſians; nothing more ſoothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illuſtrious exploits. After ſo glorious a period, the Greeks long perſevered in the ſame love of ſimplicity, frugality, and poverty; the ſame remoteneſs from pomp and luxury; the ſame zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preſervation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the iſlands and provinces of Aſia Minor, over which the Greeks ſo often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleaſures and luxury: they, however, never ſuffered themſelves to be infected by that contagious ſoftneſs, and conſtantly preſerved themſelves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make thoſe countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and ſilver into Sparta, from whence they were baniſhed under ſevere penalties, did not happen till about fourſcore years after the battle of Salamin, and the ancient ſimplicity of manners ſubſiſted very long afterwards, notwithſtanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be ſaid of the reſt of Greece; which did not grow weak and degenerate, but ſlowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to ſhew.

The fourth age of Greece.

The principal cauſe of the weakening and declenſion of the Greeks, was the diſunion which roſe up amongſt themſelves. The Perſians, who had found them invincible on the ſide of arms, as long as their union ſubſiſted, applied their whole attention and policy in ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord amongſt them. For that

that reaſon they employed their gold and ſilver, which ſucceeded much better than their ſteel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked inviſibly in this manner by bribes ſecretly conveyed into the hands of thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in their governments, were divided by domeſtick jealouſies, and turned their victorious arms againſt themſelves, which had rendered them ſuperior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from theſe cauſes gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to ſubject them. Thoſe princes, to accuſtom them to ſervitude the more agreeable, coloured their deſign with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that groſs ſnare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke impoſed on them by the hands which had conquered the univerſe, could never be removed; thoſe little ſtates were no longer in a condition to ſhake it off. Greece, from time to time, animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, rouzed from its lethargy, and made ſome attempts to re-inſtate itſelf in its ancient condition; but thoſe efforts were ill concerted, and as ill ſuſtained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its ſlavery; becauſe the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, ſoon made themſelves its maſters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally ſubjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually puſhed on their conqueſts from province to province, they perceived, that they ſhould find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous ſituation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itſelf, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the ſmall ſtates of Greece, from whom they had leſs to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling paſſion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient

ancient ideas. After having with great addreſs made uſe of the Greeks to reduce and deſtroy the Macedonian power, they ſubjected all thoſe ſtates one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus ſwallowed up at laſt in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

It did not loſe with its power (*b*) that ardent paſſion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reſerved to the people almoſt all their privileges; and Sylla (*c*), who puniſhed them ſo cruelly ſixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge thoſe of their liberty who eſcaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were ſeen to eſpouſe with warmth the party of Pompey, (*d*) who fought for the republick. Julius Cæſar revenged himſelf upon them no otherwiſe than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of conſideration for their anceſtors. But, after Cæſar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected ſtatues to Brutus and Caſſius near thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till ſollicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magiſtrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they ſtill retained another ſovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themſelves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the ſciences, the ſchool of polite arts, and the center and ſtandard of refined taſte in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæſarea, Alexandria, Epheſus, and Rhodes, ſhared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened ſchools which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as ſhe was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She ſent her moſt illuſtrious citizens to be finiſhed and refined in Greece. They were inſtructed

(*b*) Strab. l. ix. p. 131. & l. xlvii. p. 339. (*c*) Plut. in Sylla. (*d*) Diod. l. xlii.

ſtructed there in all the parts of ſound philoſophy, the knowledge of mathematicks, the ſcience of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reaſoning with juſtice and method: All the treaſures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greateſt ſubjects with propriety, force, elegance, and perſpicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted ſomething, and did not bluſh to become the diſciple of the great maſters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midſt of his glorious conqueſts, did not think it a diſhonour to him, in paſſing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philoſophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himſelf in ſome meaſure their diſciple.

Nothing ſhews better the reſpect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny (*e*) the younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus appointed governour of that province by Trajan. "Call to mind, my dear Maximus, that you are going "into Achaia, the true Greece, the ſame Greece "where learning and the polite arts had their birth; "where even agriculture was invented, according to "the common opinion. Remember, that you are "ſent to govern free cities and free men, if ever any "ſuch there were; who by their virtues, actions, al-"liances, treaties, and religion, have known how to "preſerve the liberty they received from nature. "Revere the gods their founders; reſpect their he-"roes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the ſa-"cred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great ex-"ploits, and even fables and vanity of that people. "Remember, it is from thoſe ſources that we have "derived our law; that we did not impoſe our laws "upon them, after we had conquered them, but that "they gave us theirs, at our requeſt, before they were "acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word, "it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon "you are to command. It would be inhuman and "bar-

(*e*) Lib. viii. c. 24.

" barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that " ſhadow which they retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilſt the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always ſupported itſelf, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was reſorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, thoſe great lights of the church, St. Bazil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chryſoſtom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their ſource, all the profane ſciences. The emperors themſelves *(f)*, who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the moſt celebrated philoſophers into their palaces, in order to their being intruſted with the education of their children, and to improve themſelves by their inſtructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilſt he was emperor, went to hear the philoſophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take leſſons from them as a common diſciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before, Greece had impoſed its laws on Egypt and the whole Eaſt, from whence ſhe had expelled barbariſm, and introduced a taſte for the arts and ſciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conqueſt, all thoſe nations to receive her language and adopt her cuſtoms: A teſtimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illuſtrious ſuperiority, than that not founded in merit, but ſolely upon the force of arms. Plutarch obſerves ſomewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not underſtand Greek, was in no great eſtimation.

(f) Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

ARTI-

ARTICLE III.

IT ſeems, that after the ſubjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our hiſtory, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, thoſe of Egypt and Syria, ſhould become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obſcure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, eſpecially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which ſeveral kings not only ſucceed one another in a ſhort ſpace, but ſometimes reign jointly, and, at the ſame time, to the number of three or four, which occaſions a confuſion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myſelf. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, ſucceſſion, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This ſmall chronological abridgment may contribute to caſt ſome light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and ſerve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the moſt clear-ſighted will have occaſion for aſſiſtance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be paſſed over, and recourſe be only had to it, when it is neceſſary to be ſet right: I inſert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the ſpace of an hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulſion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world three thouſand eight hundred and forty-five, to three thouſand nine hundred and forty-ſix.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the ſame article, contains almoſt the ſpace of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Aſiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world three thouſand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thouſand nine hundred and thirty-nine.

SECT. I. *A chronological abridgment of the history of the kings.*

KINGS OF EGYPT.

A. M. 3824. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned ſomething more than thirty-four years. This article contains only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother Evergetes, or Phyſcon.

3859. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, otherwiſe called Phyſcon, brother of Philometor, aſcends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

Phyſcon

of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third article.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, ſucceeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years. A. M. 3840.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, ſon of Seleucus Philopator, having eſcaped from Rome, aſcends the throne. 3842.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himſelf out for the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, ſeiſes the throne of Syria. He is ſupported by the Romans. 3851.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almoſt five years. Ptolemæus Philometor declares againſt him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, ſon of Demetrius Soter. 3859.

DEMETRIUS NICATOR. 3859.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS, ſon of Bala, ſupported by Tryphon, ſeiſes part of the kingdom. 3860.

DIODOTES TRYPHON, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, aſcends the throne. 3861.

Demetrius marches againſt the Parthians, who take him priſoner, and confine him. He had reigned ſeven years. 3863.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

A. M. 3874. Phyſcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named alſo Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians reſtore the government to Cleopatra his firſt wife.

3877. Phyſcon re-aſcends the throne.

3887. Death of Phyſcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.

PTOLEMY

KINGS OF SYRIA.

		A. M.
	ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, Demetrius's wife, marries him.	3684.
	Antiochus Sidetes marches againſt the Parthians.	3873.
Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	The Parthians ſend back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is ſlain.	3874.
Demetrius is killed by Zebina.	ALEXANDER ZEBINA, ſupported by Phyſcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed ſoon after.	3877.
Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.		
SELEUCUS V. eldeſt ſon of Demetrius, is declared king, and ſoon after killed by Cleopatra.		3880.
ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.		
	Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies ſoon after.	3882.
Cleopatra deſigns to poiſon Grypus, and is poiſoned herſelf.		3884.

Kings of Egypt.

A. M. 3887. Ptolemy Lathyrus, or Soter, ſucceeds Phyſcon.

Cleopatra his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldeſt ſiſter, and marry Selena, his youngeſt ſiſter.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngeſt ſon.

3897. Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: he had reigned ten years. She ſets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.

3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom ſhe had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

Alexander

KINGS OF SYRIA.

ANTIOCHUS, THE CYZICENIAN, ſon of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, take arms againſt Grypus. A. M. 3890.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenian. She is killed by the order of Tryphena wife of Grypus. 3891.

The Cyzicenian gains a victory over Grypus and drives him out of Syria. 3892.

Grypus is reconciled with his brother the Cyzicenian.

The two brothers are reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria. 3893.

Cleopatra gives her daughter Selena to Antiochus Grypus. 3903.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty-ſeven years. 3907.

SELEUCUS, his ſon, ſucceeds him.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian, is overthrown, and put to death. 3910.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

A. M. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3915. Alexander is expelled himſelf: he had reigned
3916. nineteen years. He died ſoon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

Death

Kings of Syria.

Seleucus is overthrown by Euſebes, and burnt in Mopſueſtia.

Antiochus Euſebes, ſon of the Cyzicenian, cauſes himſelf to be declared king. A. M. 3911.

Euſebes marries Selena widow of Grypus.

Antiochus XI. brother of Seleucus, and ſecond ſon of Grypus, aſſumes the diadem, and is killed by Euſebes. 3912.

Philip, his brother, third ſon of Grypus, ſucceeds him. 3913.

Demetrius Euchares, fourth ſon of Grypus, is eſtabliſhed upon the throne at Damaſcus, by the aſſiſtance of Lathyrus. 3914.

Euſebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongſt the Parthians. 3916.

He is re-eſtabliſhed upon the throne by their means. 3918.

Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, Antiochus Dionysius. fifth ſon of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damaſcus, and is killed the following year.

A. M.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II. ſon of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is choſen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwiſe Berenice, and kills her ſeventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.

3939. PTOLEMY AULETES, baſtard ſon of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.

The

KINGS OF SYRIA.

The Syrians, weary of ſo many diviſions and revolutions, elect TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.

A. M. 3921.

Euſebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. 3923.

Selena his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, and gives her two ſons a good education.

Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

Syria, being unprovided with troops, ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS, ſon of Antiochus Euſebes, takes poſſeſſion of ſome part of the country, and reigns there during four years. 3935.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Aſiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The houſe of the Seleucides is extinct with him. 3939.

SECT.

SECT. II. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, *aged nineteen, ſucceeds his father* ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES *in the kingdom of Syria.* DEMETRIUS, *who had been long an hoſtage at Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of* JUDAS MACCABÆUS *againſt the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himſelf in perſon. Long differences between the two* PTOLEMIES, *brothers, and kings of Egypt, terminated at length by an happy peace.*

WE have long loſt ſight of the * hiſtory of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no ſmall connexion with each other. I am now going to reſume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Antiochus, ſurnamed Eupator (*a*), aged only nineteen, ſucceeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, ſent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his ſon's minority, and put his crown, ſignet, and all other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his ſon in ſuch a manner, as was moſt proper to inſtruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had uſurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lyſias, upon the firſt advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his ſon Antiochus upon the throne, whoſe governour he was, and had taken upon himſelf, with the guardianſhip, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well that he was not at that time in a condition to diſpute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding, at that court, the aſſiſtance he wanted for the repoſ-

(*a*) Appian. in Syr. p. 187. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. & x. 10—13. Joſeph. Antiq l. xii. c. 14.

* *It is treated laſt towards the end of Book* XVIII. *Article* II. *Sect.* II. *and* III.

poſſeſſion of his right, and the expulſion of the uſurper.

Much about the ſame time, Ptolemy Macron, governour of Cœloſyria and Paleſtine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a ſudden their friend; moved, as the ſcripture ſays, with the crying injuſtice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a ſtop to the rigour of the perſecution againſt them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occaſion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king againſt him, by repreſenting him perpetually as a traitor; becauſe he had in reality betrayed the intereſts of his firſt maſter, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had entruſted him with the government of the iſland of Cyprus, and had given up that iſland to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his ſervice. For, how advantageous ſoever the treaſon might be, the traitor, as is uſual, was hated. At length, they did ſo much by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lyſias; no other poſt or penſion being conferred on him to ſupport his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poiſoned himſelf; an end he had well deſerved for his treaſon, and ſhare in the cruel perſecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus (*b*) at this time ſignalized his valour by ſeveral conſiderable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war againſt him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes ſurvived the favourable inclinations he had expreſſed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always conſidered the Jews as rebels deſirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great intereſt in making ſo powerful a neighbouring people ſubmit to it, had no regard to ſome tranſient demonſtrations of the dying prince's

(*b*) 1 Maccab. v. 10—68. 2 Maccab. v. 14—38.

prince's favour to them. They always perſiſted in the ſame principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whoſe ſole view was to ſhake off their chains, and to ſupport themſelves in liberty of conſcience, with regard to religion. Such were the diſpoſitions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Demetrius, (*c*) ſon of Seleucus Philopator, who, from the year his father died, had remained an hoſtage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the acceſſion of his ſon Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the ſon of Epiphanes's eldeſt brother. He propoſed to the ſenate his re-eſtabliſhment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he repreſented, that having been bred up at Rome, he ſhould always regard it as his native country, the ſenators as his fathers, and their ſons as his brothers. The ſenate had more regard for the intereſts of the republick than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there ſhould be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and ſent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambaſſadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The ſame ambaſſadors had inſtructions to accommodate, if poſſible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lyſias (*d*), terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourſcore thouſand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourſcore elephants: at the head of all theſe forces he marched into Judæa, with the reſolution to ſettle ſtrange inhabitants that worſhipped idols in Jeruſalem. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Beth-

(*c*) Polyb. Legat. cvii. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117.
(*d*) 2 Maccab. ix. 1—38. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. vi. 19—63. Joſeph. Antiq. c. xii.

Bethſura, a fortreſs between Idumæa and Jeruſalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, beſeeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to ſend his angel for the preſervation of Iſrael. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with aſſured courage, out of Jeruſalem, there * appeared a horſeman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That ſight filled them with new ardour. They threw themſelves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thouſand ſix hundred men, and obliged the reſt to fly, moſt of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lyſias (*e*) weary of ſo unſucceſsful a war, and, as the ſcripture ſays, *believing the Jews invincible, when ſupported by the aid of the almighty God*, made a treaty with Judas and the Jewiſh nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, ſhould be revoked and cancelled, and that they ſhould be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repoſe. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, aſſembled all his forces, and raiſed an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, without including the horſe, which amounted to five-and-twenty thouſand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched againſt him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus loſt thirty thouſand men in this battle, and ſaved himſelf with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the ſide of Judas, which proved, that God alone is the ſource of valour, intrepidity, and ſucceſs in war. He ſhowed this in the moſt ſenſible manner, by the evident

(*e*) 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

* *It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.*

dent and ſingular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raiſed of an hundred thouſand foot, with twenty thouſand horſe, two-and-thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in perſon, with Lyſias the regent of the kingdom, put themſelves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the univerſe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the laſt drop of their blood, marched and poſted himſelf in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, THE VICTORY OF GOD, he choſe the braveſt men of his army, and with them, in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thouſand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confuſion and diſmay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He reſolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, ſeeing an elephant larger than the reſt, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, ſacrificed himſelf to preſerve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all who oppoſed him. Then placing himſelf under the beaſt's belly, he pierced it in ſuch a manner, that it fell and cruſhed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary reſolution. But at length, exhauſted by the fatigue, and no longer able to ſupport the weight of the enemy, they choſe to retire. The king followed them, and beſieged the fortreſs of Bethſura.

That

That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſurrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched againſt Jeruſalem, and beſieged the temple. Thoſe who defended it were reduced to the ſame extremities with the garriſon of Bethſura, and would, like them, have been obliged to ſurrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeſeen accident. I have obſerved, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding aſſiſtance there againſt Lyſias. But the diviſions which aroſe between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been ſaid elſewhere, ſoon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the Eaſt, aſſembled ſome troops of Medes and Perſians, and taking advantage of the king's abſence upon his expedition againſt Judæa, he ſeiſed the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lyſias thought it neceſſary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms againſt his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus ſwore to obſerve it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the ſight of which he was ſo much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had ſworn in regard to the peace, he cauſed them to be demoliſhed before he ſet out for Syria. The ſudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his ſhort regency, and ſoon after to his life.

The troubles (*f*) occaſioned by the diviſions between the two Ptolemies, which we have juſt now mentioned, roſe ſo high, that the Roman ſenate gave orders to the ambaſſadors they had ſent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to uſe all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Phyſcon the youngeſt, ſurnamed Evergetes, had already expelled

A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162.

(*f*) Porphyr. in Cr. Euſ. Scalig. p. 60, & 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. cxiii. Epit. Liv. l. xlvi.

pelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundusium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprised of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express the misery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank. They assured him, that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprised of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quæstors and treasurers, to see him

him ſerved and ſupplied, at the expence of the publick, with all things neceſſary during his reſidence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had repreſented his condition to the Romans, they immediately reſolved to re-eſtabliſh him; and deputed two of the ſenators, with the character of ambaſſadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cauſe their decree to be put in execution. They re conducted him accordingly, and ſucceeded in negociating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Phyſcon: Philometor had Egypt and the iſle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions aſſigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the cuſtomary oaths and ſacrifices.

But oaths and ſacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than ſimple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themſelves bound in the leaſt. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngeſt of the two kings, diſſatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in perſon to complain of it to the ſenate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition ſhould be annulled, and that he ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been forced, by the neceſſity of the times, to comply with the former propoſals, and that, though Cyprus ſhould be granted him, his part would ſtill be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Phyſcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life alſo, from the goodneſs of his brother; that he had made himſelf ſo much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother ſnatched him from their reſentment, by making himſelf mediator. That at the time he was preſerved from this danger, he thought himſelf too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that

both ſides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and ſworn to obſerve their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negociated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The ſenate, ſeeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminiſh the ſtrength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For ſuch was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and ſtrengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with ſo much addreſs, that whilſt they acted ſolely from their own intereſt, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reaſon to apprehend, it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one ſovereign, who knew how to uſe it, they adjudged the iſle of Cyprus to Phyſcon. Demetrius, who did not loſe ſight of the throne of Syria, and whoſe intereſt in that view it was, that ſo powerful a prince as the king of Egypt, ſhould not continue in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Cyprus, ſupported the demand of Phyſcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula ſet out with the latter, to put him in poſſeſſion of it.

During (g) that prince's ſtay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of ſeeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and cauſed propoſals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice conſul and cenſor, ſhe rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the firſt ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Phyſcon.

Phyſcon ſet out from Rome with the two Roman ambaſſadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring

(g) Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the ſenate's inſtructions. Philometor did not explain himſelf openly at firſt. He ſpun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with deſign of making uſe of the time in taking ſecret meaſures againſt his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was reſolved to ſtand to the firſt treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time (*b*), informed of the ill conduct of Phyſcon during his being poſſeſſed of the government at Alexandria, conceived ſo ſtrong an averſion for him, that they reſolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken pains underhand to excite thoſe troubles. Phyſcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almoſt loſt all hope, ſent two deputies with the Roman ambaſſadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints againſt his brother before the ſenate, and to ſollicit their protection. The ſenate, offended at Philometor's refuſal to evacuate the iſland of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambaſſadors to quit Rome in five days. A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161.

Phyſcon found means to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in Cyrenaica, but made himſelf ſo generally hated by his ſubjects, through his ill conduct, that ſome of them fell upon him, and wounded him in ſeveral places, and left him for dead upon the ſpot. He aſcribed this to his brother Philometor; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints againſt him to the ſenate, ſhowed the ſcars of his wounds, and accuſed him of having employed the aſſaſſins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the moſt humane of all princes, and could not be the leaſt ſuſpected of ſo black and barbarous an action, the

(*b*) Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Id. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 334.

ſenate, who were angry at his refuſal to ſubmit to the regulation they had made in regard to the iſle of Cyprus, gave ear to this falſe accuſation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice ſo high againſt him, that they would not ſo much as hear what his ambaſſadors had to ſay in his defence. Orders were ſent them to quit Rome immediately. Beſides which, the ſenate appointed five commiſſioners to conduct Phyſcon into Cyprus, and to put him in poſſeſſion of that iſland, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpoſe with all their troops.

A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157. Phyſcon, by this means, with an army which ſeemed to him ſufficient for the execution of his deſign, landed in the iſland. Philometor, who had gone thither in perſon, beat him, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Lapitho, where he was ſoon inveſted, beſieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had ſo cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodneſs appeared upon this occaſion. After all that Phyſcon had done againſt him, it was expected, that having him in his power, he would make him ſenſible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and, not contented to forgive him his faults, he even reſtored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added further ſome amends in lieu of the iſle of Cyprus. That act of generoſity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were aſhamed of oppoſing any longer a prince of ſuch extraordinary clemency. There is no reader, who does not ſecretly pay the homage of eſteem and admiration to ſo generous an action. Such inward ſentiments which riſe from nature, and prevent reflexions, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanneſs of ſoul there is in the reſentment of the revengeful.

SECT.

SECT. III. OCTAVIUS, *ambaſſador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there.* DEMETRIUS *eſcapes from Rome, puts* EUPATOR *to death, aſcends the throne of Syria, and aſſumes the name of* SOTER. *He makes war againſt the Jews. Repeated victories of* JUDAS MACCABÆUS: *Death of that great man.* DEMETRIUS *is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himſelf to drunkenneſs and debauchery.* ALEXANDER BALA *forms a conſpiracy againſt him.* DEMETRIUS *is killed in a battle.* ALEXANDER *eſpouſes the daughter of* PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. *Temple built by the Jews in Egypt.* DEMETRIUS, *ſon of the firſt of that name, ſets up his claim to the throne of Syria.* ALEXANDER *is deſtroyed.* PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR *dies at the ſame time.*

WE have (*a*) ſeen that the principal object of the commiſſion of the three Roman ambaſſadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Ducretius, and L. Aurelius, who went firſt into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ſhips and elephants than had been ſtipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They cauſed the ſhips to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number ſtated in that treaty, and diſpoſed all things elſe in ſuch a manner as they thought moſt to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment ſeemed inſupportable, and exaſperated the people againſt them. A perſon, named Leptinus, was ſo incenſed at it, that in rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilſt he was bathing, and killed him. It was ſuſpected that Lyſias, the regent of the kingdom, had ſecretly a hand in this aſſaſſination. Ambaſſadors were immediately ſent A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162.

(*a*) Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv. & cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Juſtin l. xxxiv. c. 3.

* *This Octavius had been conſul ſome years before, and was the firſt of his family who had attained that honour.* Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4.—— *Octavius, who became emperor, ſo well known under the name of Auguſtus, was of the ſame family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the conſular dignity had never entered.*

to Rome, to juſtify the king, and to proteſt, that he had no ſhare in the action. The ſenate ſent them back without giving them any anſwer, to ſignify, by that ſilence, their indignation for the murther committed upon the perſon of Octavius, of which they reſerved the examination and puniſhment to themſelves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a ſtatue to him amongſt thoſe of the great men, who had loſt their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the diſguſt of the Romans againſt Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addreſſed himſelf a ſecond time to the ſenate, to obtain their permiſſion to return into Syria. He took this ſtep contrary to the opinion of the greateſt part of his friends, who adviſed him to make his eſcape, without ſaying any thing. The event ſoon ſhowed him how much they were in the right. As the ſenate had always the ſame motives of intereſt for keeping him at Rome as at firſt, he received the ſame anſwer, and had the mortification of a ſecond denial. He had then recourſe to the firſt advice of his friends; and Polybius, the hiſtorian, who was at Rome, was one of thoſe who preſſed him with the utmoſt warmth to put it in immediate execution with ſecrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his meaſures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting-match, went to Oſtia, and embarked with a ſmall train in a Carthaginian veſſel bound for Tyre that waited for him *. It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he had ſtolen away. All that the ſenate could do, was ſome days after to ſend Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to obſerve what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius (*b*) having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report

(*b*) 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. & 2 Maccab. xiv. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii, xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

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report ſpread, that the ſenate had ſent him to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, and had reſolved to ſupport him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a loſt man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lyſias, ſeiſed by their own troops, were delivered up to the newcomer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius ſaw himſelf eſtabliſhed by this means upon the throne without oppoſition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the firſt actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the firſt governor, and the ſecond treaſurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius cauſed him to be put to death. He contented himſelf with baniſhing the other. The Babylonians were ſo much rejoiced to ſee themſelves freed from the oppreſſion of thoſe two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of SOTER, or SAVIOUR, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-prieſt of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, becauſe he had profaned the ſanctity of the prieſthood, by following the impious cuſtoms of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apoſtate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himſelf at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppreſſions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thouſand calumnies againſt them. He accuſed them of having killed all perſons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all thoſe in his company, to abandon their country, and ſeek their ſecurity elſewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Meſopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army,

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and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commiſſion with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this firſt army ineffectual, as he did of a ſecond, commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the laſt defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men ſhould make head againſt ſuch numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Iſrael, and in the promiſes made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thouſand blaſphemies againſt the Almighty, and againſt his temple. He was ſoon puniſhed for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thouſand men, not one eſcaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongſt the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up againſt the temple when he threatened to deſtroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jeruſalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having ſome relaxation, ſent an embaſſy to Rome. He ſaw himſelf continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reaſonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from intereſting themſelves for the preſervation of the Jewiſh nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally eſteemed for their juſtice and valour, were always ready to ſupport weak nations againſt the oppreſſion of kings, whoſe power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it neceſſary to make an alliance with that people, in order to ſupport himſelf by their protection againſt the unjuſt enterpriſes of the Syrians. Thoſe ambaſſadors were very well received by the ſenate, who paſſed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defenſive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the ſenate to Demetrius,

by

by which he was enjoined not to diſtreſs the Jews any more, and war was threatened him, in caſe he perſevered to do ſo. But before the ambaſſadors returned, Judas was dead.

As ſoon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, compoſed of the choiceſt of all his troops, and ſent them into Judæa. Judas had only three thouſand men with him when it arrived there. Theſe were ſtruck with ſuch a panick, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas, with that ſmall number, through an exceſs of valour and confidence, had the boldneſs to hazard a battle with ſo numerous an army, in which he periſhed, overpowered by multitude. His loſs was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jeruſalem, with all the marks of the moſt lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences againſt the true Iſraelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harraſſed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the ſenate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchis.

Demetrius, (*c*) indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and uſed all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predeceſſors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambaſſadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he ſent Menochares, one of his principal miniſters, thither to enter upon the negociation. Finding, at his return, by the report he made of what had paſſed, that the good offices of thoſe ambaſſadors were abſolutely neceſſary to his ſucceſs in it, he ſent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to aſſure them, that he would conform A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 162.

(*c*) Polyb. Legat. cxx.

form entirely to their will; and by the force of preſſing ſollicitations, obtained at length by their means what he deſired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. To cultivate their amity (*d*), he ſent the ſame Menochares the following year, in conjunction with ſome others, upon an embaſſy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thouſand pieces * of gold, as a preſent from him to the ſenate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hoſtage at Rome. They carried alſo with them Leptinus and Iſocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the aſſaſſination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the perſon who killed him at Laodicea. Iſocrates was a Greek, by profeſſion a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had, upon all occaſions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally baſe and unjuſt action. The ſenate received the ambaſſadors with all the uſual honours, and accepted the preſent they brought; but would neither hear nor ſee two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reſerving to themſelves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleaſed, a more diſtinguiſhed ſatisfaction for the murther of their ambaſſador.

A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have obſerved before, eſtabliſhed Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was ſoon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to ſee how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

Demetrius, (*e*) who found himſelf without war or occupation, began to give into pleaſure, and to lead an idle life, not a little ſingular and fantaſtick in the manner of it. He cauſed a caſtle to be built, near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and ſhut himſelf

(*d*) Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.
(*e*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

* *They were worth more than ten thouſand piſtoles.*

himſelf up in it, for the ſake of abandoning himſelf entirely on the one ſide to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleaſure of good chear and exceſs of wine. He was drunk at leaſt one half of the day. The memorials, which people were deſirous of preſenting to him, were never received; juſtice was not adminiſtered; the affairs of the ſtate languiſhed; in a word, there was a general ſuſpence of government, which ſoon ſtirred up the whole people againſt him. A conſpiracy was formed for depoſing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot againſt his benefactor, flattering himſelf with obtaining the crown if the enterpriſe ſucceeded. It was diſcovered, and Holophernes put in priſon. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He choſe rather to ſpare him, in order to make uſe of him upon occaſion againſt Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whoſe crown he had ſome pretenſions.

Notwithſtanding the diſcovery, the conſpiracy was not ſuppreſſed (*f*). The malcontents were ſupported underhand by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themſelves for the war Demetrius had undertaken againſt them in favour of Holophernes. Thoſe three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing ſomebody to perſonate the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to ſet up hereditary pretenſions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have ſaid already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treaſurer of the province of Babylon, at the ſame time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malverſation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his eſcape, had taken up his reſidence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to

(*f*) Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii. & cxl. Appian in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50.

to form the man intended for the deſign I have mentioned. He choſe for that purpoſe a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and inſtructed him fully in all that it was neceſſary to ſay or do.

A. M. 3851. Ant. J. C. 153. When he was fully prepared, he began by cauſing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the ſecret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did alſo Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the impoſture. By force of addreſs and ſollicitations, he cauſed him to be acknowledged there alſo, and obtained a decree of the ſenate in his favour, which not only gave him permiſſion to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him aſſiſtance for that purpoſe. Though the ſenate plainly ſaw through the impoſture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing deſired of them againſt Demetrius, with whom they were diſſatisfied, and paſſed that decree in favour of the impoſtor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raiſe troops: He then ſeiſed upon Ptolemais in Paleſtine, and there, under the name of Alexander, ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, aſſumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his caſtle and his indolence, and apply himſelf to his defence. He aſſembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed alſo on his ſide. The aſſiſtance of Jonathan was of great conſequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him firſt, and ſent him the commiſſion of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much ſuperior to all his enemies.

Alexander ſeeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make propoſals alſo to him, in order to bring him over to his ſide. He made

made him high-prieſt, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, ſent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the firſt rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, ſtill outbid him, to ſecure to himſelf an ally of ſuch importance. But after the injuries he had done to all thoſe who had had the trueſt intereſt of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and reſolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-prieſthood from him, and with the conſent of the whole people, at the feaſt of the tabernacles, which happened ſoon after, he put on the pontifical veſtments, and officiated as high-prieſt.

The place had been vacant ſeven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-prieſthood, which at that time came into the Aſmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he diſpoſed of at pleaſure.

The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good ſenſe, when his reaſon was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the firſt battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander ſoon received new troops from the three kings who had ſet him up, and continued to ſupport him vigorouſly. Having, beſides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his ſide, he retrieved himſelf, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deſerted alſo, becauſe they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, ſent his two ſons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their ſecurity in caſe of misfortune. He confided them, with a conſiderable ſum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order if any accident ſhould happen, that they might remain there in ſafety, and wait ſome favourable conjuncture. A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.

It

A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151. It was at the ſame time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriſcus played the ſame part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150. The two competitors for the crown of Syria having aſſembled all their troops, proceeded to a deciſive battle. At firſt Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which oppoſed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the purſuit, a common fault in battles, and which almoſt always occaſions their being loſt, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in perſon, routed, and the king himſelf killed in the purſuit. As long as he had been in a condition to ſupport the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his ſucceſs. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horſe plunged into a bog, where thoſe who purſued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander, by this victory, found himſelf maſter of the empire of Syria.

As ſoon as (*g*) Alexander ſaw himſelf at repoſe, he ſent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in perſon to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feaſt, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all poſſible marks of honour.

Onias, ſon of Onias III. having (*h*) been diſappointed of the high-prieſthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to inſinuate himſelf ſo well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and moſt intimate confident. He made uſe of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permiſſion for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jeruſalem; aſſuring

(*g*) 1 Maccab. x. 51—66. (*h*) Joſeph. contra. Appian. l. ii.

aſſuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party againſt Antiochus Epiphanes: at the ſame time the high-prieſthood there was granted to him and his deſcendents for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer ſacrifices in any place but the temple of Jeruſalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a paſſage in Iſaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in theſe terms (*i*): *In that day ſhall five cities in the land of Egypt ſpeak the language of Canaan, and ſwear to the Lord of Hoſts*; *the one ſhall be called the* city of deſtruction. (M. Rollin ſays, the city of the ſun, or Heliopolis.) *In that day there ſhall be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt*; *and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it ſhall be for a ſign and for a witneſs unto the Lord of Hoſts in the land of Egypt*; *for they ſhall cry unto the Lord becauſe of the oppreſſors, and he ſhall find them a ſaviour and a great one, and he ſhall deliver them. And the Lord ſhall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians ſhall know the Lord in that day, and ſhall do ſacrifice and oblation, yea, they ſhall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it.*

The event here foretold by Iſaiah, is one of the moſt ſingular, and, at the ſame time, the moſt remote from all probability. Nothing was more ſtrictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer ſacrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jeruſalem; how much more, in conſequence, to build a temple elſewhere, eſpecially in a land polluted with the moſt groſs idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to paſs, exactly as the prophet Iſaiah had foretold. I ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial expoſition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my ſubject.

Alexander Bala (*k*), finding himſelf in the peaceable A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

(*i*) Iſa. xix. 18—21. (*k*) Liv. Epit. lib. l. Juſtin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Joſ. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346.

able poſſeſſion of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleaſures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himſelf therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleneſs, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That inſolent and cruel miniſter put to death Laodice, the ſiſter of Demetrius, and widow of Perſeus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's ſon, who continued in Syria when the two others were ſent to Cnidos; in fine, all the perſons of the blood-royal he could find, in order to ſecure to his maſter, by that means, the poſſeſſion of the crown he had uſurped by an impoſture. That conduct ſoon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldeſt of Demetrius's ſons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counſel and action. When he was adviſed of this averſion of the people, he thought the occaſion favourable for repoſſeſſing himſelf of his right. Laſthenes, the friend in whoſe houſe he lived, procured him ſome companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There ſoon joined him a ſufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himſelf maſter of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes and quitted his ſeraglio to apply himſelf to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is alſo called Tryphon, put himſelf at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could aſſemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governour of Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he ſent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's firſt thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who perſiſted in his attachment to Alexander: but his ſucceſs did not anſwer his deſign, and in one day he loſt above eight thouſand men.

A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146. Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himſelf, came at laſt to the aſſiſtance of his ſon-in-law, and

and entered Paleſtine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival a conſpiracy was diſcovered, formed by Ammonius againſt the life of Philometor. As Alexander refuſed to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conſpiracy himſelf, and, in conſequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-aſcending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to ſhow their reſentment. Having diſcovered him diſguiſed like a woman, they ſacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared againſt Alexander himſelf and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have ſet him upon the throne. But that prince, aſſuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, inſtead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his anceſtors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmoſt diligence, and put all to fire and ſword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with five hundred horſe to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entruſted his children. Betrayed by the perſon in whom he had placed moſt confidence, his head was cut off, and ſent to Ptolemy, who expreſſed great joy at the ſight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died ſome few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt died at the ſame time; the firſt after a reign of five years, and the ſecond after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, A M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.

* *He is called Emalcuel in the Maccabees.*

aſſumed the ſurname of *Nicator*, that is to ſay, the Conqueror. The ſucceſſion of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

SECT. VI. PHYSCON *eſpouſes* CLEOPATRA, *and aſcends the throne of Egypt.* DEMETRIUS *in Syria abandons himſelf to all manner of exceſſes.* DIODOTUS, *ſurnamed* TRYPHON, *cauſes* ANTIOCHUS, *the ſon of* ALEXANDER BALA, *to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He ſeiſes* JONATHAN *by treachery, and puts him to death.* DEMETRIUS *undertakes an expedition againſt the Parthians, who take him priſoner.* CLEOPATRA *his wife eſpouſes* ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, *brother of* DEMETRIUS, *and places him upon the throne of Syria.* PHYSCON'*s exceſſive follies and debauches.* ATTALUS PHILOMETOR *ſucceeds* ATTALUS *his uncle, whom he cauſes to be regretted by his vices. He dies himſelf, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions.* ARISTONICUS *ſeiſes them. He his overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.*

A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.

CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her huſband, who was at the ſame time her brother endeavoured to place (*a*) the crown upon the head of the ſon ſhe had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Phyſcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and ſent to deſire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the neceſſity of her defence, cauſed Onias and Doſithæus, with an army of Jews, to come to her aſſiſtance. There was at that time a Roman ambaſſador at Alexandria, named Thurmus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Phyſcon ſhould marry Cleopatra, and educate her ſon, who ſhould be declared heir to the crown; and that Phyſcon ſhould poſſeſs it during his life. He had

(*a*) Joſeph. contr. App. l. ii. Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. ix. c. 1.

had no ſooner married the queen, and taken poſſeſſion of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her ſon in her arms.

I have already obſerved, that the ſurname of Phyſcon, given to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took himſelf was *Evergetes*, which ſignifies *the Benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoergetes*, that is to ſay, on the contrary, *one who delights in doing harm*; a ſurname to which he had the juſteſt title.

In Syria (*b*) affairs went on little better. Demetrius a young prince without experience, left every thing to Laſthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whoſe aid he had aſcended the throne. He was a corrupt and raſh man, and behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he ſoon loſt his maſter the hearts of thoſe who were moſt neceſſary to his ſupport.

The firſt wrong ſtep which he took, was in regard to the ſoldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to re-inforce the garriſons. If he had left thoſe garriſons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Inſtead of gaining them, or at leaſt of treating them well, upon ſome umbrage which he conceived, he ſent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the ſame garriſons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian ſoldiers; which maſſacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was ſtill in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of juſt horrour for ſo barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he cauſed the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for all thoſe who had been concerned againſt himſelf or his father in the laſt wars, and puniſhed all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all theſe executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greateſt part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and ſome other foreigners, in his ſervice.

(*b*) Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20—37. Joſeph Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

By that means he not only deprived himſelf of the old troops, who had ſerved under his father, and being well-affected to him would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greateſt enemies by depriving them of the ſole means they had to ſubſiſt. He found this fully verified in the inſurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan however, ſeeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the deſign of delivering the nation at length from the evils it ſuffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters ſtill held in Jeruſalem. He inveſted it, and cauſed machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occaſion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for puſhing the ſiege vigorouſly in his abſence, and ſet out to meet him with ſome of the prieſts and principal perſons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent preſents, and appeaſed the king and his miniſters ſo ſucceſsfully, that he not only cauſed the accuſations, which had been formed againſt him, to be rejected but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was diſcharged from all duties, cuſtoms and tributes, for the ſum of * three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch (*c*), and continuing to give himſelf up immoderately to all kind of exceſſes, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhauſted, and the whole nation diſpoſed for a general revolt.

Diodotus afterwards ſurnamed Tryphon, who had formerly ſerved Alexander, and had ſhared the government of Antioch with Hierax, ſeeing the people in this diſpoſition, found the occaſion favourable for attempt-

(*c*) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joſeph Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. iii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 346.

* *Three hundred thouſand crowns,*

attempting an hardy enterpriſe, which was to ſet the crown upon his own head, by the favour of theſe diſorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the perſon and education of Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander Bala, had been entruſted. He laid a ſtate of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the diſcontent of the people, and in particular of the ſoldiery, and ſtrongly repreſented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for ſetting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince ſhould be put into his hands, in order to his being reſtored to his rights. His view was to make uſe of the pretenſions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himſelf of the young prince, and aſſume the crown to himſelf, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real deſign, or did not entirely approve his ſcheme did not give into it at firſt. Tryphon was obliged to continue a conſiderable time with him, to ſollicit and preſs him. At length, between the force of importunity and preſents, he gained Zabdiel's conſent, and obtained what he demanded.

Jonathan carried on the ſiege of the citadel of Jeruſalem with vigour, but ſeeing that he made no progreſs, he ſent deputies to Demetrius, to deſire that he would withdraw the garriſon which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himſelf involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people conceived an invincible averſion for his perſon and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would ſend troops to chaſtiſe the mutineers. Jonathan ſent him three thouſand men immediately. As ſoon as the king had them, believing himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to undertake every thing, he reſolved to diſarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they ſhould all deliver up their arms. Upon this they roſe, to the number of ſix-ſcore thouſand men, and inveſted the palace, with deſign to kill the king. The Jews immediately A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144.

flew to diſengage him, diſperſed the multitude with fire and ſword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or deſtroyed very near an hundred thouſand of the inhabitants. The reſt, intimidated by ſo great a misfortune, demanded a peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceaſed. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judæa and Jeruſalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country, laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppreſſions, put many more perſons to death for the laſt ſedition, confiſcated the eſtates of others, and baniſhed a great number. All his ſubjects conceived ſuch an hatred and animoſity againſt him, that there wanted nothing but an occaſion for riſing, and making him experience the moſt dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithſtanding the promiſes he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preſerved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not obſerve the treaty he had made with him, Though the ſum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not deſiſt from demanding all the uſual impoſts, cuſtoms, and tributes, with the ſame rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilſt things were in this unſteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, into Syria, and cauſed his pretenſions to the crown to be declared by a manifeſto. The ſoldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crouds to join the pretender and proclaimed him king. They marched under his enſigns againſt Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire into Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themſelves maſters of Antioch, placed Antiochus

upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the ſurname of *Theos*, which ſignifies *the God*.

Jonathan diſcontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commiſſion was ſent them, whereby they were empowered to raiſe troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœloſyria and Paleſtine. Of theſe troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted ſeparately, and obtained ſeveral victories over the enemy.

Tryphon (*e*), ſeeing all things brought to the deſired point for executing the project he had formed of deſtroying Antiochus, and of poſſeſſing himſelf of the crown of Syria, found no other obſtacle to his deſign, than on the other part of Jonathan, whoſe probity he knew too well even to ſound him upon entering into his views. He reſolved therefore to rid himſelf, at whatever price it coſt him, of ſo formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came alſo to Bethſan at the head of forty thouſand men. Tryphon perceived that he ſhould get nothing by force againſt ſo powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuſe him with fine words, and the warmeſt aſſurance of a ſincere friendſhip. He gave him to underſtand, that he was come thither only to conſult him upon their common intereſts, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was reſolved to make him a preſent of as a free gift. He deceived him ſo well by theſe proteſtations of friendſhip, and obliging offers, that he diſmiſſed all his troops, except three thouſand men, of which he kept only one thouſand about his perſon. He ſent the reſt towards Galilee,, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon the traitor's oath, that he ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of it He had no ſooner entered the place, than the gates were ſhut upon him. Jonathan was

(*e*) 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

immediately ſeiſed, and all his followers put to the ſword. Troops were alſo detached directly to follow and ſurpriſe the two thouſand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themſelves well, and to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were ſuffered to proceed, and arrived all ſafe at Jeruſalem.

The affliction there for what had befalled Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not loſe courage. They choſe Simon by univerſal conſent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, ſet themſelves at work with all poſſible ſpeed to complete the fortifications, began by Jonathan, at Jeruſalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched againſt him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourſe to the ſame artifices which had ſucceeded ſo well with Jonathan. He ſent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arreſt, becauſe he owed the king an hundred talents *(f)*; that if he would ſend him that ſum, and Jonathan's two ſons as hoſtages for their father's fidelity, he would cauſe him to be ſet at liberty. Though Simon ſaw clearly, that this propoſal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reaſon to reproach himſelf with being the occaſion of his brother's death, by refuſing to comply with it, he ſent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithſtanding did not releaſe his priſoner, but returned a ſecond time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with deſign to put all things to fire and ſword. Simon kept ſo cloſe to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he fruſtrated his deſigns, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon

(f) An hundred thouſand crowns,

Tryphon, (*g*) on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, cauſed Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus ſecretly. He then cauſed it to be given out, that he was dead of the ſtone, and at the ſame time declared himſelf king of Syria in his ſtead, and took poſſeſſion of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he ſent to fetch his bones, interred them in the ſepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory. A M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143.

Tryphon paſſionately deſired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His uſurpation was ſo unſteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was abſolutely neceſſary to his ſupport. He ſent them a magnificent embaſſy, with a golden ſtatue of Victory of ten thouſand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the ſtatue, and cauſed the name of Antiochus, whom he had aſſaſſinated, to be inſerted upon the inſcription, as if it had come from him.

The ambaſſadors ſent by Simon to Rome (*b*) were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predeceſſors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amuſed himſelf with diverſions at Laodicea (*i*), and abandoned himſelf to the moſt infamous debauches, without becoming more wiſe from adverſity, and without ſo much as ſeeming to have the leaſt ſenſe of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews juſt reaſon to oppoſe him and his party, Simon ſent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambaſſadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince, a confirmation of the high-prieſthood and ſovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and impoſts, with a general amneſty for all paſt acts of hoſtility; upon condition that the Jews ſhould join him againſt Tryphon. A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141.

Deme-

(*g*) Diod. Legat. xxxi. (*b*) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40. (*i*) Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42. & xiv. 38—41. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

Demetrius at length (*k*) recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the Eaſt, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almoſt over-run the whole Eaſt, and ſubjected all the countries of Aſia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of thoſe countries, who were deſcended from the Macedonians, not being able to ſuffer that uſurpation, and the haughty inſolence of their new maſters, extremely ſollicited Demetrius, by repeated embaſſies, to come and put himſelf at their head; aſſured him of a general inſurrection againſt the Parthians; and promiſed to ſupply him with a ſufficient number of troops to expel thoſe uſurpers, and recover all the provinces of the Eaſt. Full of theſe hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and paſſed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himſelf maſter of the Eaſt, with that increaſe of power he ſhould be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As ſoon as he appeared in the Eaſt, the Elymæans, Perſians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in ſeveral engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuſcade, where he was made priſoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took ſuch firm footing, that it ſupported itſelf for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themſelves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, ſon of Priapatius, a valiant and wiſe prince. We have ſeen in what manner Arſaces founded, and his ſon Arſaces II. eſtabliſhed and fixed this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great.

(*k*) Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5, & 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—49. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9—12. Oroſius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

Great. Priapatius was the ſon of the ſecond Arſaces, and ſucceeded him; he was called alſo Arſaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldeſt ſon Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, becauſe he had diſcovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced, that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the ſtate, than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in ſome meaſure, that he is a father, to remember ſolely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whoſe hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having ſubdued the Medes, Elymæans, Perſians, and Bactrians, extended his conqueſts even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, ſubjected alſo Babylonia and Meſopotamia, ſo that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the Weſt, and the Ganges on the Eaſt.

He carried Demetrius his priſoner into all the provinces that ſtill adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to ſubmit to him, by ſhowing them the perſon they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to ſo low and ſhameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, ſent him into Hyrcania, which was aſſigned him for his place of reſidence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a priſoner of war, though in other reſpects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His ſon Phraates, who ſucceeded him, treated him in the ſame manner.

It is obſerved particularly of this Mithridates, that having ſubjected ſeveral different nations, he took from

* Non multo poſt deceſſit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potiſſimum Mithridati, inſignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiuſque patria quam liberis conſulendum. *Juſtin.*

from each of them whatever was beſt in their laws and cuſtoms, and out of them compoſed an excellent body of laws and maxims of ſtate, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious uſe of his victories; by ſo much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almoſt unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wiſe cuſtoms of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himſelf out of their ſpoils. It was by this means that Mithridates eſtabliſhed the empire of the Parthians upon ſolid foundations, gave it a firm conſiſtency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which ſubſiſted many ages without change or revolution, notwithſtanding the diverſity of nations of which it was compoſed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a ſavage valour with diſcipline, and to blend the wiſe authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a conſiderable change in the affairs of the Jewiſh nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts againſt the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preſervation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars, with which that empire was continually torn, to ſecure the one and the other. In a general aſſembly of the prieſts, the elders, and the whole people at Jeruſalem, Simon was choſen general, to whoſe family they had moſt eſſential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of ſovereign, as well as that of high-prieſt: they declared this double power, civil and ſacerdotal, hereditary in his family. Theſe two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his perſon. After his death, both dignities deſcended jointly to his poſterity, and continued united for many generations.

A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140. When queen Cleopatra ſaw her huſband taken and kept priſoner by the Parthians, ſhe ſhut herſelf up with

with her children in Seleucia, were many of Tryphon's ſoldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had induſtriouſly concealed thoſe defects under appearances of lenity and goodneſs, as long as he believed it neceſſary to pleaſe the people for the ſucceſs of his ambitious deſigns. When he ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the crown, he quitted an aſſumed character that laid him under too much conſtraint, and gave himſelf up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconſiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Theſe deſertions did not however ſufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to ſupport herſelf. She was alſo afraid, leſt the people of Seleucia ſhould chooſe rather to give her up to Tryphon, than ſupport a ſiege out of affection for her perſon. She therefore ſent propoſals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promiſed on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when ſhe was informed, that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, ſhe was ſo much enraged, that ſhe obſerved no meaſures any further, and reſolved to ſeek her ſupport in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to ſupport the weight of a precarious crown, and ſhe was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus thereſore was the next heir to the crown after them, ſhe fixed upon him, and took him for her huſband.

This Antiochus was the ſecond ſon of Demetrius Soter, and had been ſent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to ſecure them againſt the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been ſaid before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he aſſumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon (*l*), wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjuſt uſurpation, of whom he promiſed

(*l*) Maccab. xv. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, & 13.

miſed a ſpeedy vengeance. To engage him in his intereſts, he made him great conceſſions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he ſhould aſcend the throne.

A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139. Accordingly the beginning of the following year, he made a deſcent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands; and after having eſpouſed Cleopatra, and joined what troops ſhe had with his own, he took the field, and marched againſt Tryphon. The greateſt part of that uſurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe.

Tryphon could not make head againſt him, and he retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus beſieged him there by ſea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long againſt ſo powerful an army. Tryphon eſcaped by ſea towards Orthoſia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamæa, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the uſurpation, and aſcended his father's throne, which he poſſeſſed nine years. His paſſion for hunting occaſioned his being called *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, from the word *Zidah*, which has the ſame ſignification in the Syriack language.

Simon, eſtabliſhed in the government of Judæa by the general conſent of the nation, thought it neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they deſired. The ſenate, in conſequence, cauſed the conſul Piſo to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, * Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates

* *This letter was addreſſed to Demetrius, though priſoner amongſt the Parthians, becauſe the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.*

dates king of the Parthians, and to all the ſtates of Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in conſequence they ſhould not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon ſo advantageous an alliance from the neceſſity of his preſent circumſtances, and contrary to the intereſt of the ſtate, as well as to the policy of his predeceſſors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring againſt Simon, notwithſtanding all the magnificent promiſes he had made him, and from ſending troops into Judæa under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the ſons of Simon.

Phyſcon had reigned ſeven years in Egypt (*m*). A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Hiſtory relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monſtrous vices and deteſtable cruelties. Never was there a prince ſo abandoned to debauch, and at the ſame time ſo cruel and bloody. All the reſt of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both ſaid and acted in publick the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himſelf both the contempt and abhorrence of his ſubjects. Without Hierax, his firſt miniſter, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the ſame to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards ſurnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the ſervice of Ptolemy Phyſcon, and ſoon became his captain general, and prime miniſter. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by cauſing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his maſter committed, by a wiſe and equitable government, and by preventing or redreſſing them as much as poſſible, he had been

(*m*) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. &. l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, & 2.

been till then ſo fortunate as to ſupport the tranquillity of the ſtate.

A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136. But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that firſt miniſter were no longer capable of reſtraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worſe than ever. Phyſcon, without any reaſon, cauſed the greateſt part of thoſe to be put to death, who had expreſſed the moſt zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He alſo put to death, or at leaſt baniſhed, moſt of thoſe who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murther at diſcretion, he terrified Alexandria ſo much, that the greateſt part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it neceſſary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almoſt a deſart. To ſupply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houſes, he cauſed proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whoſoever would come and ſettle there, of whatſoever nation they were, ſhould meet with the greateſt encouragements and advantages. There were conſiderable numbers whom this propoſal ſuited very well. The houſes that had been abandoned, were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongſt thoſe who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philoſophers, geometricians, phyſicians, muſicians, and other maſters in the liberal ſciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and ſciences began to revive in Greece, Aſia Minor, and the iſlands; in a word, in every place to which the illuſtrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the ſucceſſors of Alexander had almoſt extinguiſhed the ſciences in all

all thoſe countries, and they would have been entirely loſt in thoſe times of confuſion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The firſt of thoſe princes, by founding his Muſæum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almoſt all the learned men of Greece. The ſecond and third, following the founder's ſteps in that reſpect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and ſciences were moſt cultivated, whilſt they were almoſt abſolutely neglected every where elſe. Moſt of the inhabitants of that great city ſtudied, or profeſſed ſome or other of thoſe polite arts, in which they had been inſtructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppreſſion of the tyrant, of whom I ſpeak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their moſt general recourſe for ſubſiſtence was to make it their buſineſs to teach what they knew. They opened ſchools in thoſe countries for that purpoſe, and as they were preſſed by neceſſity, they taught at a low price, which very much increaſed the number of their diſciples. By this means the arts and ſciences began to revive where-ever they were diſperſed; that is to ſay, throughout what we call the whole Eaſt, exactly in the ſame manner as they took new birth in the Weſt, after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that ſtrangers came in crowds to (*n*) re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the Younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambaſſadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to ſend frequent embaſſies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greateſt perſons in the ſtate were ſent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Aſia, and Greece; and to ſee in what condition the affairs of thoſe countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them

(*n*) Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273. & l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

were obſerved; and to remedy whatever they ſhould find amiſs. They diſcharged themſelves of this commiſſion with ſo much equity, juſtice, and addreſs, and rendered ſuch great ſervices to thoſe to whom they were ſent, in reſtoring order amongſt them, and in accommodating their differences, that as ſoon as they returned to Rome, ambaſſadors came from all parts where they had paſſed, to return the ſenate thanks for having ſent perſons of ſuch extraordinary merit amongſt them, and whoſe wiſdom and goodneſs they could never ſufficiently admire.

The firſt place they went to, according to their inſtructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themſelves, they affected ſtate ſo little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greateſt perſonage of Rome, had only one friend with him, who was Paneſius the philoſopher, and five domeſticks *. Not his domeſticks, ſays an hiſtorian, but his victories were conſidered: He was not eſteemed for his gold or his ſilver, but for his perſonal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole reſidence at Alexandria, the king cauſed them to be ſerved with whatever was moſt delicate and exquiſite, they never touched any thing but the moſt ſimple and common meats; deſpiſing all the reſt, as ſerving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp aſſumed their place.

When the ambaſſadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up to the Nile to viſit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They ſaw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themſelves, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the ſtrength of its natural ſituation; the fertility of its ſoil, and all

* Cum per ſocios & exteras gentes iter facerent, non mancipia ſed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri & argenti, ſed quantum amplitudinis onus ſecum ferret, æſtimabatur. *Val. Max.*

all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Phyſcon, who then reigned, was nothing leſs than a king. Nothing was ſo wretched as the idea he gave them of himſelf in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and ſhall be obliged to give further proofs of them in the ſequel. The deformity of his * body ſufficiently correſponded with that of his mind: Nothing was ever worſe put together. His ſtature was of the ſmalleſt, and with that he had a belly of ſo enormous a ſize, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeneſs of his belly occaſioned his being called by the nickname of *Phyſcon*. Upon this wretched perſon he wore ſo tranſparent a ſtuff, that all his deformity might be ſeen through it. He never appeared in publick but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of fleſh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unleſs when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, ſmiling, *The Alexandrians are obliged to us for ſeeing their king walk on foot.*

We muſt confeſs, to the reproach of royalty, that moſt of the kings, of whom we now ſpeak, diſhonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itſelf, by the moſt horrid vices. It is ſurpriſing to ſee in that long liſt of kings, whoſe hiſtory we have related, how few there are who deſerve that name. What compariſon is there between thoſe monſters of diſſolution and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambaſſadors, who was as great a prodigy of wiſdom and virtue as could be found

* Quam cruentes civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim & vultu deformis, & ſtatura brevis & ſagina ventris non homini ſed belluæ ſimilis. Quam fœditatem nimia ſubtilitas perlucidæ veſtis augebat, prorſus quaſi aſtu inſpicienda præberentur, quæ omni ſtudio occultanta pudibundo viro erant. *Juſtin.* l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus ſays, [illegible] which the interpreter tranſlates, Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, ſed perpetuo Scipione ſubnixus; *i. e. ad of* niſi propter Scipionem.

amongſt the Pagans. Juſtin accordingly ſays of him, that whilſt he viſited and conſidered with curioſity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himſelf a ſight to the whole city. *Dum inſpicit urbem, ipſe ſpectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Attalus, king of Pergamus, died (*o*) about the times of which we now ſpeak. His nephew, of the ſame name, called alſo Philometor, ſucceeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was alſo left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the beſt education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had ſons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, moſt princes thinking no leſs of transferring their crowns to their poſterity, than of preſerving them to themſelves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the moſt extravagant and pernicious manner. He was ſcarce upon the throne before he ſtained it with the blood of his neareſt relations, and the beſt friends of his houſe. He cauſed almoſt all who had ſerved his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that ſome of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a diſeaſe in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable diſtemper, with which ſhe had been taken very naturally. He put others alſo to death upon ſuſpicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He cauſed theſe executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expreſsly ſent for from the moſt ſavage and cruel of nations, to make them the inſtruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having maſſacred and ſacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the moſt deſerving perſons of his kingdom, he ceaſed to ſhow himſelf abroad. He appeared no

(*o*) Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demet. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 370.

no more in the city, and eat no longer in publick. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which perſons accuſed of capital crimes uſed to do in thoſe days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other ſpecies of folly. He renounced the cares of ſtate, and retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himſelf, and ſow all ſorts of venomous, as well as wholeſome herbs; then poiſoning the good with the juice of the bad, he ſent them in that manner as preſents to his friends. He paſſed all the reſt of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which, happily for his ſubjects, was of no long duration, for it laſted only five years.

He took it into his head to practiſe the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of braſs to be erected to his mother. Whilſt he was at work in caſting the metal, on a hot ſummer's day, he was ſeiſed with a fever, which carried him off in ſeven days, and delivered his ſubjects from an abominable tyrant.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principle article was expreſſed in theſe terms, (*p*) LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY FORTUNES. As ſoon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occaſion, and aſcending the tribunal of harangues, propoſed a law to this effect, That all the ready money which ſhould ariſe from the ſucceſſion to this prince, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor citizens, who ſhould be ſent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to ſupport themſelves

A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.

(*p*) Plut. in Graech. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. & xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oroſ. l. v. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

ſelves in their new poſſeſſions, and to ſupply them with the tools and other things neceſſary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the ſenate had no right to paſs any decree in regard to them, and that he ſhould leave the diſpoſal of them to the people; which extremely offended the ſenate. That tribune was killed ſome ſmall time after.

A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132. Ariſtonicus, however, who reported himſelf of the blood royal, was active to take poſſeſſion of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the ſon of Eumenes by a courtezan. He eaſily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, becauſe they had been long accuſtomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refuſed at firſt to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. As his party grew ſtronger every day, the Romans ſent the conſul Craſſus Mucianus againſt him. It was obſerved of this general, that he was ſo perfectly maſter of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of thoſe who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the ſtates of Aſia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Notwithſtanding ſuch powerful ſupports, having engaged in a battle with diſadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconſul, was defeated, and himſelf made priſoner. He avoided the ſhame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Ariſtonicus, who cauſed his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The conſul Perpenna, who had ſucceeded Craſſus, ſoon revenged his death. Having made all haſte into Aſia, he gave Ariſtonicus battle, entirely routed his army, beſieged him ſoon after in Stratonice, and at length made him priſoner. All Phrygia ſubmitted to the Romans.

He

He ſent Ariſtonicus to Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treaſures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected conſul, was haſtening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Ariſtonicus ſet out; and ſome time after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of diſeaſe at Pergamus. Aquilius ſoon terminated this war, which had continued almoſt four years. Lydia, Caria, the Helleſpont, Phrygia, in a word, all that compoſed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Aſia. A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

The ſenate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared againſt the Romans, as well in this laſt war, as in that againſt Antiochus, ſhould be deſtroyed. The inhabitants of Marſeilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in queſtion, ſent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the ſenate and people in their favour. As juſt as their indignation was againſt Phocæa, they could not refuſe that favour to the ardent ſollicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the higheſt conſideration, and who rendered themſelves ſtill more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expreſſed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they diſpoſſeſſed his ſon, the Great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left ſix children. Rome, to reward in the ſons the ſervices of the father, added Lycania and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderneſs of a parent, but the cruelty of a ſtep-mother. To ſecure all authority to herſelf, ſhe poiſoned five of her children, and the ſixth would have had the ſame fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murtherous hands of that Mægara,

whoſe crimes the people ſoon revenged by a violent death.

A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126. Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Ariſtonicus, after having been ſhown there for a ſight to the people, was carried to priſon, where he was ſtrangled. Such were the conſequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arſaces, king of Parthia, accuſes the Romans of having * forged a falſe will of Attalus's, in order to deprive Ariſtonicus, the ſon of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: But it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more ſurpriſing that Horace in one of his odes ſeems to make the Roman people the ſame reproach, and to inſinuate, that they had attained the ſucceſſion by fraud:

(q) Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

Nor have I ſeis'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However, there remains no trace in hiſtory of any ſecret intrigue or ſollicitation to that effect on the ſide of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the conſequences of this will without interruption. I ſhall now reſume the thread of my hiſtory.

(q) Hor. Od. xviii. l. 2.

* Similato impio teſtamento, verat, hoſtium more per triumfilium ejus (Eumenis) Ariſtonicum, quia patrium regnum petiphum duxere. *Apud Salluſt. in Fragm.*

SECT.

SECT. V. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES *beſieges* JOHN HYRCANUS *in Jeruſalem. That city ſurrenders by capitulation. He makes war againſt the Parthians, and periſhes in it.* PHRAATES, *king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians.* PHYSCON *commits more horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it.* CLEOPATRA, *his firſt wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of* DEMETRIUS, *and is ſoon reduced to leave Egypt.* PHYSCON *returns thither, and re-aſcends the throne. By his means* ZEBINA *dethrones* DEMETRIUS, *who is ſoon after killed. The kingdom is divided between* CLEOPATRA, *the wife of* DEMETRIUS, *and* ZEBINA. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS *aſcends the throne of Syria. The famous* MITHRIDATES *begins to reign in Pontus.* PHYSCON's *death.*

SIMON having been ſlain (*a*) by treaſon, with two of his ſons, John, another of them, ſurnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-prieſt and prince of the Jews in his father's ſtead. Here ends the hiſtory of the Maccabees. A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 131.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all poſſible haſte to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Jeruſalem, where he ſuſtained a long ſiege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, he cauſed propoſals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Thoſe who were about the king's perſon, preſſed him to take the advantage of the preſent occaſion for exterminating the Jewiſh nation. They repreſented to him, recurring to paſt ages, that they had been driven out of Egygt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were

(*a*) 1 Maccab. xvi. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. Eclog. l. p. 901.

were enemies to all the reſt of mankind, as they had no communication with any but thoſe of their own ſect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the ſame gods; that they had laws, cuſtoms, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deſerved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Joſephus, ſays, that it was from the pure effect of the generoſity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewiſh nation was not entirely deſtroyed on this occaſion.

He was well pleaſed to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the beſieged ſhould ſurrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jeruſalem ſhould be demoliſhed; and that a tribute ſhould be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: The peace was concluded upon theſe conditions. Antiochus alſo demanded, that the citadel of Jeruſalem ſhould be rebuilt, and would have put a garriſon into it; but Hyrcanus would not conſent to that, upon account of the miſeries the nation had ſuffered from the garriſon of the former citadel, and choſe rather to pay the king the ſum of (*b*) five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and becauſe it could not be immediately ratified, hoſtages were given, amongſt whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Scipio Africanus the younger, going (*c*) to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes ſent him rich and magnificent preſents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own uſe. Scipio received them in publick, ſitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they ſhould be delivered to the * quæſtor, to be applied in rewarding the officers and ſoldiers

(*b*) *Five hundred thouſand crowns.* (*c*) Epit. Liv. l. lvii.

* *The quæſtor was the treaſurer of the army.*

diers who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice. By ſuch conduct a generous and noble ſoul is known.

Demetrius Nicator (*d*) had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all elſe is miſery. He had made ſeveral attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without ſucceſs. He was twice retaken in the midſt of his flight, and puniſhed only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the ſame magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodneſs and clemency in the Parthians; intereſt had ſome ſhare in it. They had views of making themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-eſtabliſh Demetrius upon the throne, they might take poſſeſſion of it for themſelves. A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 131.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this deſign or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched againſt Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians late uſurpation of the richeſt and fineſt provinces of the Eaſt, which his anceſtors had always poſſeſſed from the time of Alexander, was a ſtrong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulſion. His army was upwards of fourſcore thouſand men, well armed and diſciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it ſo great a multitude of ſutlers, cooks, paſtry-cooks, confectioners, actors, muſicians, and infamous women, that they were almoſt four times as many as the ſoldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thouſand. There may be ſome exaggeration in this account, but if two-thirds were deducted, there would ſtill remain a numerous train of uſeleſs mouths. The luxury of the camp was in pro-

(*d*) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 9, & 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oroſ. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l v. p. 210. & l. x. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

proportion to the number of thoſe that adminiſtered to it. * Gold and ſilver glittered univerſally, even upon the legs of the private ſoldiers. The inſtruments and utenſils of the kitchen were ſilver, as if they had been marching to a feaſt, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great ſucceſs at firſt. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the Eaſt, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and ſubmitted to him, except Parthia itſelf, where Phraates found himſelf reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his ſhare in all theſe victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The reſt of the army paſſed the winter in the Eaſt. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to ſeparate, and remove ſo far from each other, that they could not eaſily rejoin and form a body, in caſe of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they inſulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troubleſome gueſts that nothing could ſatisfy, conſpired with the Parthians to maſſacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to aſſemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his perſon, marched to aſſiſt the quarters neareſt him, but was overpowered by numbers, and periſhed himſelf. All the reſt of the army were either maſſacred in their quarters the ſame day, or made priſoners; ſo that out of ſo great a multitude, ſcarce any eſcaped to carry the ſad news of this ſlaughter into Syria.

It occaſioned great grief and conſternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince eſtimable for many excel-

* Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quo argentea inſtrumenta fuere quaſi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent. *Juſtin.*

excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch (*e*) relates a ſaying of his, very much to his honour. One day, having loſt himſelf a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of ſome poor people, who received him in the beſt manner they could, without knowing him. At ſupper, having himſelf turned the converſation upon the perſon and conduct of the king, they ſaid, that he was in every thing elſe a good prince, but that his too great paſſion for hunting, made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repoſe too much confidence in his courtiers, whoſe actions did not always correſpond with the goodneſs of his intentions. Antiochus made no anſwer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage he was known. He repeated to his officers what had paſſed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, *Since I have taken you into my ſervice, I have not heard a truth concerning myſelf till yeſterday.* A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at laſt releaſed Demetrius, and ſent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occaſion ſuch troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the maſſacre, he detached a party of horſe to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with ſo much diligence, that he had paſſed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occaſion, whilſt all the reſt of Syria were in tears, deploring the loſs of the army, in which few families had not ſome relation.

Phraates cauſed the body of Antiochus to be ſought for amongſt the dead, and put into a coffin of ſilver. He ſent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his anceſtors, and having found one of his daughters amongſt the captives, he was ſtruck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus

(*e*) Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

Antiochus being dead (*f*), Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and diviſions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himſelf maſter of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiouſly for him. He laboured alſo at the ſame time to render himſelf abſolute and independent. He ſucceeded ſo well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himſelf nor any of his deſcendants depended in the leaſt upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of ſubjection, and even that of homage.

A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Phraates (*g*), flushed with his great ſucceſſes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invaſion of his dominions. But, whilſt he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of diſquieting others abroad. Finding himſelf vigorouſly purſued by Antiochus, as we have ſeen, he demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no further occaſion for them, he would not give them the ſums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms againſt himſelf, to avenge themſelves for the injuſtice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have diſguſted ſo powerful a nation by a mean and ſordid avarice, and he committed a ſecond, no leſs conſiderable, in the war itſelf. To ſtrengthen himſelf againſt that nation, he ſought aid from a people to whom he had made himſelf more hateful than to the Scythians themſelves; theſe were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the laſt war againſt him, and had been made priſoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he ſhould conſiderably re-inforce them by that

(*f*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab l. xvi. p. 761. Juſtin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. (*g*) Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1. & l. xlii. c. 1. & 2.

that means. But when they ſaw themſelves with arms in their hands, they were reſolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had ſuffered during their captivity; and as ſoon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave ſuch a turn to the battle, whilſt the victory was in ſuſpence, that Phraates was defeated with a great ſlaughter of his troops. He periſhed himſelf in the purſuit, and almoſt his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themſelves with plundering the country, and then retired to their ſeveral homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed ſome days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his ſucceſſor, who for his glorious actions was ſurnamed the Great.

During all theſe revolutions (*b*) in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Phyſcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already obſerved, that on his marriage with his ſiſter Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the ſon ſhe had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a diſguſt for the mother, he fell paſſionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called alſo Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother. A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

He ſoon made himſelf hated alſo by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and ſupply the place of thoſe his firſt cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he reſolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force conſiſted. For that purpoſe, he cauſed them to be inveſted one day by his foreign troops in the place of exerciſe, when

(*b*) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oroſ. l. v. c. 10. Epit. l. lix. lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 374—376. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

when the aſſembly there was moſt numerous, and put them all to the ſword. The whole people ran in a fury to ſet fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his eſcape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his ſon Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed, that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raiſed troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. But firſt, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his ſon king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he cauſed him to come to him, and put him to death as ſoon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falſely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more againſt him. They pulled down and daſhed to pieces all his ſtatues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards cauſed the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a cheſt, with the head entire, that it might be known, and ſent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princeſs, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to preſent it to her. His orders were obeyed. The cheſt was delivered to her in the midſt of the rejoicings of the feaſt, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expreſſed, which the view of that ſad object excited againſt the tyrant, whoſe monſtrous barbarity had perpetrated ſo unnatural and unheard of a crime. The abominable preſent was expoſed to the view of the publick, with whom it had the ſame effect as with the court, who had firſt ſeen that ſad ſpectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monſter

monſter from ever re-aſcending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marſyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the neceſſary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Phyſcon having raiſed an army on his ſide, gave the command of it to Hegolochus, and ſent him againſt the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegolochus, He even took Marſyas priſoner, and ſent him laden with chains to Phyſcon; it was expected that ſo bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the moſt exquiſite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and ſet him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himſelf honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loſs of her army, which was almoſt entirely cut to pieces in the purſuit, ſent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldeſt daughter by Philometor, and promiſed him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without heſitation, accepted that propoſal, marched with all his troops, and laid ſiege to Peluſium.

That prince was no leſs hated by the Syrians for his haughtineſs, tyranny, and exceſſes, than Phyſcon by the Egyptians. When they ſaw him at a diſtance and employed in the ſiege of Peluſium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them thoſe of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own ſubjects to obedience. Cleopatra, deſtitute of the aid ſhe expected from him, embarked with her treaſures, and took refuge with her daughter, Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter had been firſt married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometor. But Demetrius, having been taken priſoner by the Parthians,

and detained amongſt them, ſhe had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, ſhe returned to Demetrius her firſt huſband, who being ſet at liberty by the Parthians, had repoſſeſſed himſelf of Syria: ſhe kept her court at Ptolemais were her mother came to her.

A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127

Phyſcon, as ſoon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-aſſumed the government. For after the defeat of Marſyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppoſe him. After having employed ſome time in ſtrengthening himſelf, to revenge the invaſion of Demetrius, he ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called Alexander Zebina, He was the ſon of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himſelf out for the ſon of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Phyſcon lent him an army to put him in poſſeſſion of it. He was no ſooner in Syria, than without examining the juſtice of his pretenſions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the perſon who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damaſcus in Cœloſyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongſt the Parthians, took this occaſion to be revenged, and cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut againſt him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of diſpute and emulation between the princes and princeſſes, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves moſt by wickedneſs and the blackeſt crimes. Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reſerved to herſelf part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the reſt; and, to eſtabliſh himſelf the better, made a ſtrict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able ſtateſman, took the advantage of theſe diviſions to ſtrengthen himſelf, and

to

to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other conſiderable advantages which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had ſent the preceding year an (*i*) embaſſy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The ſenate received thoſe ambaſſadors very graciouſly, and granted them all they demanded. And becauſe Antiochus Sidetes had made war againſt the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken ſeveral cities, had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and ſome other places of which he had made ceſſion to them, and had made them conſent by force to a diſadvantageous peace, by beſieging the city of Jeruſalem: upon what the ambaſſadors repreſented to the ſenate on theſe heads, they condemned all that had been done in ſuch manner againſt the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and reſolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the reſt of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenour of the treaty, ſhould be reſtored to them and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other ſubjection. It was alſo concluded that the Syrians ſhould make amends for all loſſes that the Jews had ſuſtained from them in contravention to the ſenate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria ſhould renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

At the time we ſpeak of (*k*), incredible ſwarms of graſhoppers laid Africa waſte in an unheard-of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the ſea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the ſhore, were they rotted, and infected the air to ſuch a degree, that they occaſioned a peſtilence, which carried off in Libya, Cyrenaica, and ſome other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thouſand ſouls. A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125.

(*i*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

(*k*) Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oroſ. l. v. c. 11.

A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

We have ſaid, that Cleopatra (*l*) had poſſeſſed herſelf of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her huſband. He left two ſons by that princeſs, the eldeſt of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of aſcending the throne of his father and accordingly cauſed himſelf to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her ſon's intention to eſtabliſh himſelf to her prejudice. She had alſo reaſon to fear that he might deſire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known ſhe had been the cauſe. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breaſt. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman and a mother, could be capable of committing ſo horrid and exceſſive a crime: but when ſome unjuſt paſſion takes poſſeſſion of the heart, it becomes the ſource of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itſelf with poniards, and from having recourſe to poiſon; becauſe urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to deſtroy every thing which oppoſes that view.

Zebina had made himſelf maſter of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted againſt him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea and reſolved to defend that place againſt him. But he found means to reconcile them, they ſubmitted, and he pardoned them with the moſt uncommon clemency and greatneſs of ſoul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the moſt affable and engaging manner, ſo that he acquired the love of all men, and even of thoſe who abhorred the impoſture by which he had uſurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was aſſaſſinated by his own ſervants. His ſon who ſucceeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who diſputed ſo long the empire of Aſia with

(*l*) Liv. Epit. l. lx. Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

with the Romans, and ſupported a war of almoſt thirty years duration againſt them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I ſhall make his hiſtory a ſeparate article.

Cleopatra, after having killed her eldeſt ſon, believed it for her intereſt to make a titular king, under whoſe name ſhe might conceal the authority ſhe intended to retain entirely to herſelf. She rightly diſtinguiſhed, that a warlike people, accuſtomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilſt filled only by a princeſs, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that ſhould ſet up for it. She therefore cauſed her other ſon Antiochus to return from Athens, whither ſhe had ſent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as ſoon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no ſhare in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he ſuffered her to govern for ſome time with patience enough. To diſtinguiſh him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the ſurname of * *Grypus*, taken from his great noſe. Joſephus calls him *Philometor*; but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*. A M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123.

Zebina having well eſtabliſhed himſelf, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the poſſeſſion of part of the Syrian empire, Phyſcon, who looked upon him as his creature, inſiſted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refuſed in direct terms to comply with that demand. Phyſcon reſolved to throw him down as he had ſet him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he ſent a conſiderable army to the aſſiſtance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a deſign of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122.

* Γρυπὸς *in Greek, ſignifies a man with an aquiline noſe.*

diſcovered, the inhabitants roſe, and drove him out of the city. He wandered ſome time about the country from place to place, but was taken at laſt, and put to death.

A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120. After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus believing himſelf of ſufficient years, reſolved to take the government upon himſelf. The ambitious Cleopatra, who ſaw her power diminiſhed, and grandeur eclipſed by that means, could not ſuffer it. To render herſelf abſolute miſtreſs of the government of Syria again, ſhe reſolved to rid herſelf of Grypus, as ſhe had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her ſons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, ſhe was in hopes of poſſeſſing the royal authority for many years, and of taking ſuch meaſures as might eſtabliſh her during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poiſoned draught for that purpoſe, which ſhe preſented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from ſome exerciſe, But that prince having been appriſed of her deſign, deſired her firſt, by way of reſpect, to drink the cup herſelf, and upon her obſtinate refuſal to do it, having called in ſome witneſſes, he gave her to underſtand, that the only means ſhe had to clear herſelf of the ſuſpicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor ſhe had preſented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herſelf without evaſion or reſource ſwallowed the draught. The poiſon had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monſter, who by her unheard-of crimes had been ſo long the ſcourge of the ſtate. She had been the wife of three * kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occaſioned the death of two of her huſbands, and as to her children, ſhe had murthered one with her own hands, and would have deſtroyed Grypus by the poiſon he made her drink herſelf. That prince afterwards applied himſelf with ſucceſs to the affairs of the publick,

* *The three kings of Syria, who had been her huſbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four ſons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes.*

lick, and reigned ſeveral years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother, Antiochus of Cyzicum, occaſioned the troubles we ſhall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Phyſcon, king of Egypt (*m*), after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at laſt in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

SECT. VI. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS *ſucceeds* PHYSCON. *War between* GRYPUS *and his brother* ANTIOCHUS *of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria.* HYRCANUS *fortifies himſelf in Judæa. His death.* ARISTOBULUS *ſucceeds him, and aſſumes the title of king. He is ſucceeded by* ALEXANDER JANNÆUS. CLEOPATRA *drives* LATHYRUS *out of Egypt; and places* ALEXANDER *his youngeſt brother on the throne in his ſtead. War between that princeſs and her ſons. Death of* GRYPUS. PTOLEMY APION *leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians chooſe* TIGRANES *king.* LATHYRUS *is re-eſtabliſhed upon the throne of Egypt. He dies.* ALEXANDER *his nephew ſucceeds him.* NICOMEDES, *king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.*

PHYSCON (*n*) at his death left three ſons. The firſt, named Apion, was a natural ſon, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldeſt was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 117.

He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two ſons ſhe ſhould think fit to chooſe. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the moſt com-

(*m*) Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix. (*n*) Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. ſub finem & in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 385.

plaiſant, reſolved to chooſe; but the people would not ſuffer the eldeſt to loſe his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither ſhe had cauſed him to be baniſhed by his father and to aſſociate him with her on the throne. Before ſhe would ſuffer him to take poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhe obliged him to repudiate his eldeſt ſiſter Cleopatra, whom he paſſionately loved, and to take Selena, his youngeſt ſiſter, for whom he had no inclination. Diſpoſitions of this kind promiſe no very pacifick reign,

A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114. At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of hiſtorians diſtinguiſh him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as this is but a kind of nick-name, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's ſide. He was the ſon of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilſt Demetrius was priſoner amongſt the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his ſafety, had ſent him to Cyzicum, a city ſituate upon the Propontis, in Myſia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom ſhe had entruſted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poiſoned, His deſign was diſcovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretenſions to the crown of Syria.

A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113. Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herſelf at her own diſpoſal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an † army for her dowry,

* Ααθυρος *ſignifies a kind of pea, called in Latin* cicer, *from which came the ſurname of Cicero. Lathyrus muſt have had ſome very viſible mark of this ſort upon his face, or the name had been inconſiſtent.*

† *We find in the latter editions of Juſtin the following words;* exercitum

dowry, to aſſiſt him againſt his competitor. Their forces, by that means, being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her ſecurity in that place, and went himſelf to raiſe new troops for the re-inforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid ſiege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earneſt with him to put Cleopatra his priſoner into her hands. Though her ſiſter by father and mother, ſhe was ſo exceſſively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army againſt them, that ſhe reſolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a ſanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not have a complaiſance for his wife, which he ſaw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the ſanctity of the aſylum where her ſiſter had taken refuge; and repreſented, that her death would neither be of uſe to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenian. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his anceſtors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exerciſed againſt the women, eſpecially ſo near relations. That Cleopatra was her ſiſter, and his near * relation. That therefore he deſired her to ſpeak no more of her to him, becauſe he could by no means conſent to her being treated with any ſeverities. † Tryphena, far from giving into his reaſons, became more violent by conceiving jealouſy; and imagining, that it was not from the motive of compaſſion, but love, that her huſband took the part of that unfortunate princeſs in ſuch a manner, ſhe therefore ſent ſoldiers into the temple,

citum Grypi ſollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit; *which ſhows, that Cleopatra having ſucceeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her huſband. Several editions read* Cypri *inſtead of* Grypi, *which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.*

* *Her father Phyſcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.*

† Sed quanto Grypus abnuit tanto muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non miſericordiæ hæc verba, ſed amoris eſſe. *Juſtin.*

ple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which ſhe embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thouſand curſes againſt the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whoſe ſight ſo barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two ſiſters, did not ſeem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was ſolely ſuſceptible of ambition, was ſo taken up with the deſire of reigning, that ſhe had no other thoughts than of the means of ſupporting herſelf in Egypt, and of retaining an abſolute authority in her own hands during her life. To ſtrengthen herſelf the better, ſhe gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngeſt ſon, in order to draw from him the aſſiſtance ſhe might have occaſion for, in caſe Lathyrus ſhould ever diſpute the authority ſhe was determined to keep.

A. M. 3982. Ant. J. C. 112. The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpuniſhed. The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a ſecond time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the tormients her cruelty to her ſiſter had well deſerved.

A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 121. Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aſpendus in Pamphylia, which occaſioned his being ſometimes called in hiſtory the Aſpendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repoſſeſſed himſelf of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, and took up his reſidence at Damaſcus. Grypus had all the reſt, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other exceſſes.

A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Whilſt the two brothers (*b*) were exhauſting their forces againſt one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious ſloth and eaſe, John Hyrcanus augmented

(*b*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17—19.

augmented his wealth and power; and ſeeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He ſent Ariſtobulus and Antiochus, two of his ſons, to form the ſiege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenian, king of Damaſcus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle enſued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and purſued as far as Scythopolis, eſcaping with great difficulty.

The two brothers after this victory returned to the ſiege, and preſſed the ſiege ſo vigorouſly, that it was obliged a ſecond time to ſend to the Cyzicenian, to ſollicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raiſing of the ſiege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the ſame head, who granted ſix thouſand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both miniſters and generals, the ſons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, thoſe two miniſters, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them, ſhe would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almoſt reſolved to depoſe Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her conſent, and even againſt her will. A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 109.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the ſiege, and contented himſelf with flying parties and excurſions, to ravage the country by way of diverſion, and to reduce the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, in order to defend themſelves at home. But ſeeing that the Jewiſh army did not move, and that his own was much diminiſhed by the defeat of ſome parties, deſertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expoſe his perſon by continuing in the field with an army ſo much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his beſt generals, Callimander and Epicrates.

Epicrates. The firſt was killed in a raſh enterpriſe, in which his whole party periſhed with him. Epicrates, ſeeing no hopes of ſucceſs, had no farther thoughts but of ſerving his private intereſt in the beſt manner he could in the preſent ſituation of affairs. He treated ſecretly with Hyrcanus, and for a ſum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians poſſeſſed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a ſum perhaps inconſiderable enough.

Samaria, deſtitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having ſuſtained a ſiege for a year, to ſurrender at laſt to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demoliſhed. The walls of the city, and the houſes of the inhabitants, were entirely raſed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he cauſed large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had ſtood into which water was turned. It was not re-eſtabliſhed till the time of Herod, who gave the new city, he cauſed to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebaſtos (*c*), in honour of Auguſtus.

Hyrcanus ſaw himſelf at that time maſter of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the moſt conſiderable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he paſſed the reſt of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs

A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. But towards the cloſe of his life he did not find the ſame repoſe at home. The Phariſees, a violent and rebellious ſect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profeſſion of an attachment to the law, and a ſeverity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great ſway amongſt the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all ſorts of favours to engage them in his intereſts. Beſides having been educated amongſt them, and having always profeſſed their ſect, he had protected and ſerved them upon

(*c*) Σεβαστος, *in Greek ſignifies Auguſtus.*

upon all occaſions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a ſpeech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He repreſented, That it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be juſt in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Phariſees: that he conjured them therefore, if they ſaw that he departed in any thing from the great end he propoſed to himſelf in thoſe two rules, that they would give him their inſtructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a diſpoſition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and diſcernment.

The whole aſſembly applauded this diſcourſe, and highly praiſed him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and ſeditious ſpirit, roſe up, and ſpoke to him to this effect: "Since you deſire "that the truth ſhould be told you with freedom, if "you would prove yourſelf juſt, renounce the high-"prieſthood, and content yourſelf with the civil go-"vernment." Hyrcanus was ſurpriſed, and aſked him what reaſons he had to give him ſuch counſel. Eleazar replied, that it was known, from the teſtimony of ancient perſons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that as the ſon of a ſtranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar (*d*) would have had reaſon; for the law was expreſs in that point: but it was a falſe ſuppoſition, and a mere calumny; and all who were preſent extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expreſſed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occaſioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incenſed at ſo inſolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in queſtion the purity of his birth, and, in conſequence, his right to the

(*d*) Lev. xxiv. 15.

the high-prieſthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incenſe him againſt the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful ſects in Judæa, but directly oppoſite to each other in ſentiments and intereſts, entirely divided the ſtate; that of the Phariſees, and that of the Sadducees. The firſt piqued themſelves upon an exact obſervance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their anceſtors, and to which they much more ſtrictly adhered than to the law itſelf, though often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the ſoul, and, in conſequence, another life after this. They affected an outſide of virtue, regularity, and auſterity, which acquired them great conſideration with the people. But under that impoſitious appearance they concealed the greateſt vices: ſordid avarice; inſupportable pride; an inſatiable thirſt of honours and diſtinctions; a violent deſire of ruling alone; an envy, that roſe almoſt to fury, againſt all merit but their own; an irreconcileable hatred for all who preſumed to contradict them; a ſpirit of revenge capable of the moſt horrid exceſſes; and what was ſtill their more diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick, and outdid all the reſt, a black hypocriſy, which always wore the maſk of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Phariſaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the ſoul, and the reſurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and moſt of thoſe who compoſed the Sanhedrim, that is to ſay, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of ſtate and religion were determined, were of the latter ſect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, inſinuated to him, that what had paſſed was not the mere ſuggeſtion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he

he had only to conſult them upon the puniſhment which the calumniator deſerved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and conſulted the principal of the Phariſees upon the puniſhment due to him, who had ſo groſsly defamed the prince and high-prieſt of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their anſwer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the puniſhment he deſerved, was to be ſcourged and impriſoned. So much lenity in ſo hainous a caſe, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had inſinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole ſect of the Phariſees. He prohibited, by decree, the obſervation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon ſuch as diſobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himſelf into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus did not long ſurvive this ſtorm: He died the year following, after having been high-prieſt and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years. A. M. 3897. Ant. J. C. 107.

Not to interrupt the hiſtory of other kingdoms, I ſhall reſerve the greateſt part of what regards the ſucceſſors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I ſhall treat the hiſtory of the Jews ſeparately.

We have ſeen that Ptolemy Lathyrus (*e*) had ſent an army into Paleſtine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithſtanding her oppoſition. She carried her reſentment ſo high upon this attempt, and ſome others of a like nature, againſt her authority, that ſhe took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two ſons *, and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have ſome of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an aſſembly of the people at Alexandria. She cauſed it to be reported, that he had uſed them ſo barbarouſly for having endeavoured to defend her againſt his violence,

(*e*) Juſtin. l. xxxviiii. c. 3. * *Thoſe two ſons died before him.*

lence, and enflamed the people ſo much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he deſigned to kill her, that they immediately roſe univerſally againſt Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not eſcaped from the port in a ſhip, which ſet ſail as ſoon as he got on board. Cleopatra ſent ſoon after for Alexander her youngeſt ſon, to whom ſhe had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's ſtead, whom ſhe obliged to content himſelf with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Alexander, *(f)* king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched againſt the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, where he beſieged them. They ſent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in perſon. But the beſieged changing their ſentiments, from the apprehenſion of having him for their maſter, Lathyrus diſſembled his reſentment for the preſent. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was appriſed that the latter was negociating ſecretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces in order to drive him out of Paleſtine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and reſolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them under the command of one of his generals, to form the ſiege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied; and with the other marched in perſon againſt Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had ſupplied Lathyrus with a conſiderable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander loſt thirty thouſand men, without including the priſoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A moſt cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occaſion. The ſame evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbour-

(f) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20, 21.

neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and cauſed them all to be put to the ſword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into cauldrons, in order to their being dreſſed, as if he intended to make his army ſup upon them. His deſign was to have it believed, that his troops eat human fleſh, to ſpread the greater terrour throughout the country. Could one believe ſuch a barbarity poſſible, or that any man ſhould ever conceive ſo wild a thought? Joſephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waſte all the flat country. Without the ſuccours brought by Cleopatra the following year Alexander had been undone, for after ſo conſiderable a loſs it was impoſſible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head againſt his enemy.

That princeſs ſaw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himſelf maſter of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was neceſſary to put a ſtop to his progreſs. For that purpoſe ſhe raiſed an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have ſpoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the ſame time, to tranſport her troops; and embarking with them herſelf, landed in Phœnicia (g). She carried with her a great ſum of money, and her richeſt jewels. For their ſecurity, in caſe of accident, ſhe choſe the iſle of Cos for their repoſitory, and ſent thither at the ſame time her grandſon Alexander, the ſon of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himſelf maſter of that Iſland, and of the treaſures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education ſuitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by ſtealth from Mithridates, ſome time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, A.M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103.

(g) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. & de Bel. Civil. p. 414.

carried him to Rome, and at length, ſet him upon the throne of Egypt, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raiſe the ſiege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœloſyria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to purſue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the ſiege of Ptolemais herſelf. Chelcias, who commanded the firſt detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a ſtop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the diſorder occaſioned by that loſs, threw himſelf with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the abſence of his mother, who had carried her beſt troops into Phœnicia. He was miſtaken. The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of thoſe ſhe detached to re-inforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his deſign. He was reduced to return into Paleſtine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

A. M. 3902. Ant. J. C. 102.

Cleopatra however puſhed the ſiege of Ptolemais with ſo much vigour, that ſhe at laſt took it. As ſoon as ſhe entered it, Alexander made her a viſit, and brought rich preſents with him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced moſt to his ſucceſs, was her hatred for her ſon Lathyrus; which was alone ſufficient to aſſure him of a good reception.

Some perſons of Cleopatra's court obſerved to her, that ſhe had now a fair opportunity of making herſelf miſtreſs of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by ſeiſing his perſon: they even preſſed her to take the advantage of it, which ſhe would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he repreſented to her, how baſe and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the ſame cauſe; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of ſociety; that ſuch a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her intereſts, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews diſperſed throughout the world. In fine, he ſo effectually

effectually uſed his reaſons and credit, which he employed to the utmoſt for the preſervation of his countryman and relation, that ſhe came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wiſe miniſter, who has courage enough to oppoſe their unjuſt undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jeruſalem, where he at length ſet another good army on foot, with which he paſſed the Jordan, and formed the ſiege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual againſt Paleſtine, whilſt his mother ſupported it, abandoned that deſign, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her ſide, retired alſo into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

Being (*b*) informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damaſcus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diverſion, gave her daughter Selena, whom ſhe had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and ſent him, at the ſame time, a conſiderable number of troops, and great ſums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenian with vigour. The affair ſucceeded as ſhe had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had ſo much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to aſſiſt Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his deſign.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom ſhe had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herſelf, ſhocked by the barbarous cruelty with which ſhe purſued his brother Lathyrus, eſpecially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and obſerving beſides, that the greateſt crimes coſt her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himſelf ſafe

(*b*) Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4.

near her, and chose to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant sollicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97. The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Euchares, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Ptolemy Apion (*i*), son of Physcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Antiochus the Cyzicenian seised Antioch (*k*), after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many

(*i*) Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.
(*k*) Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

many other good cities, maintained himſelf againſt him, and found means to ſupport his right.

Tigranes, ſon of Tigranes king of Armenia (*l*), who had been kept an hoſtage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was releaſed at his death, and ſet upon the throne, on condition that he ſhould reſign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he eſpouſed the part of Mithridates againſt the Romans. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia. A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.

The Cyzicenian (*m*), who ſaw that Seleucus ſtrengthened himſelf every day in Syria, ſet out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made priſoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Euſebes, ſon of the Cyzicenian, who made his eſcape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, and went to Aradus *, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king. From thence he marched with a conſiderable army againſt Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in Mopſueſtia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the reſt to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppreſſed the inhabitants ſo much by the impoſition of groſs ſubſidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, inveſted the houſe where he reſided, and ſet it on fire. Himſelf, and all who were in it, periſhed in the flames. A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93.

Antiochus and Philip, the twin-ſons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raiſe againſt Mopſueſtia. They took and demoliſhed the city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But on their return, Euſebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

(*l*) Juſtin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. (*m*) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

* *An iſland and city of Phœnicia.*

vouring to ſwim his horſe over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a conſiderable body of men, which ſoon increaſed to ſuch a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and diſpute the empire with Euſebes.

The latter, to ſtrengthen himſelf upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politick princeſs, upon her huſband's death, had found means to ſecure part of the empire in her own poſſeſſion, and had provided herſelf with good troops. Euſebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom ſhe had been taken, to avenge himſelf for that injury, ſent to Cnidos for Demetrius Euchares, the fourth ſon of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damaſcus. Euſebes and Philip were too much employed againſt each other to prevent that blow. For though Euſebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, ſtill ſupported himſelf, and at laſt ſo totally defeated Euſebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongſt the Parthians, whoſe king at that time was Mithridates II. ſurnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius. Two years after, Euſebes, aſſiſted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, re-poſſeſſed himſelf of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell alſo upon his hands, almoſt at the ſame time: this was Antiochus Dionyſius, his brother, the fifth ſon of Grypus. He ſeiſed the city of Damaſcus, made himſelf king of Cœloſyria, and ſupported himſelf in it for three years.

A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Affairs (*n*) were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to ſuffer a companion in the ſupreme authority, nor to admit her ſon Alexander to ſhare the honour of the throne with her, reſolved to rid

(*n*) Juſtin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pauſan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

rid herſelf of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was appriſed of her deſign, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monſter of a woman, who had ſpared neither mother, ſons, nor daughters, and had ſacrificed every thing to the ambitious deſire of reigning. She was puniſhed in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myſelf, is ſtruck with horror at the ſight of ſo dreadful a ſcene as our hiſtory has for ſome time exhibited. It furniſhes us no where with ſuch frequent and ſudden revolutions, nor with examples of ſo many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murthered by their neareſt relations, their brothers, ſons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidents; who all in cold blood, with premeditated deſign, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the moſt odious and moſt inhuman means to thoſe effects. Never was the anger of heaven more diſtinguiſhed, or more dreadful than upon theſe princes and people. We ſee here a ſad complication of the blackeſt and moſt deteſtable crimes, perfidy, impoſture of heirs, divorces, poiſoning, inceſt. Princes on a ſudden become monſters, diſputing treachery and wickedneſs with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and diſappearing as ſoon; reigning only to ſatiate their paſſions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a ſituation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the ſtate are in confuſion, all laws deſpiſed, juſtice aboliſhed, all crimes ſecure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and ſeems to call for it in the loudeſt manner.

As ſoon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had cauſed his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide ſo odious to his ſubjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he ſupported himſelf to his death. Alexander having got ſome ſhips together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the

year following, but without ſucceſs. He periſhed ſoon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. The Syrians (*o*), weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the houſe of Seleucus for the ſovereignty, and not being able to ſuffer any longer the ravages, murthers, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually expoſed, reſolved at laſt to exclude them all, and to ſubmit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils thoſe diviſions occaſioned, and reſtore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and ſent ambaſſadors to acquaint him with their reſolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took poſſeſſion of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office, till he had occaſion for him againſt the Romans.

Euſebes, being driven out of his dominions by his ſubjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he paſſed the reſt of his days in concealment and obſcurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in ſome action againſt Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Euſebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, and (*p*) reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two ſons an education worthy of their birth. The eldeſt was called Antiochus Aſiaticus, and the youngeſt Seleucus Cybioſactes. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel.

Some time (*q*) after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a conſiderable rebellion

(*o*) Juſtin. l. xl. c. 1. & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. (*p*) Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 156. (*q*) Pauſan. in Attic. p. 15.

bellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, ſhut themſelves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themſelves with incredible obſtinacy. It was at length taken after a ſiege of three years. Lathyrus uſed it with ſo much rigour, that from being the greateſt and richeſt city till then in Egypt, it was almoſt reduced to nothing.

Lathyrus did not long ſurvive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-ſix years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and ſeven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, ſucceeded him, who was his only legitimate iſſue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of that houſe, all the ſons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra. A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81.

Sylla (*r*), at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, ſent Alexander to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the neareſt heir male of the defunct. He was the ſon of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already ſet Cleopatra upon the throne, and ſhe had been ſix months in poſſeſſion of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the maſter of Rome, and, in conſequence, diſpenſer of law to the univerſe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he ſhould marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no aſſociate in the throne, cauſed her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murther and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in thoſe times, and might be ſaid to have grown into faſhion among princes and princeſſes.

Some time (*s*) after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76.

(*r*) Appian. de. Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphyr. in. Græc. Scal. p. 60.
(*s*) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. 1. p. 420. Liv. Epit. l. lxx, & xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

died, having firſt made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did alſo the ſame year. The Romans, inſtead of appropriating the latter to themſelves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had paſſed ſince, during which term, ſedition and tyranny had occaſioned infinite calamities. It is ſaid, that the Jews, who had been long ſettled there, and compoſed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to thoſe diſorders. The Romans, to put a ſtop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the laſt king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECT. VII. SELENA, *ſiſter of* LATHYRUS, *conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt; ſhe ſends two of her ſons to Rome for that purpoſe. The eldeſt called* ANTIOCHUS, *on his return goes to Sicily.* VERRES, *prætor of that iſland, takes from him a golden ſconce, deſigned for the Capitol.* ANTIOCHUS, *ſurnamed* ASIATICUS, *after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is diſpoſſeſſed of part of his dominions by* POMPEY, *who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel* ALEXANDER *their king, and ſet* PTOLEMY AULETES *on the throne in his ſtead.* ALEXANDER, *at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In conſequence, ſome years after, they order* PTOLEMY, *king of Cyprus, brother of* AULETES, *to be depoſed, confiſcate his fortunes, and ſeiſe that Iſland. The celebrated* CATO *is charged with this commiſſion.*

A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. (a) SOME * troubles which happened in Egypt, occaſioned by the diſguſt taken againſt Alexander,

(a) Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61—67.

* Reges Syriæ, reges Antiochi filios pueros, ſcitis Romæ nuper fuiſſe: qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id ſine controverſiâ obtinebant, ut a patre & a majoribus acceperant; ſed regnum Ægypti ad ſe & Selenam matrem ſuam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, poſtquam temporibus populi Romani excluſi, per ſenatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrium profecti ſunt.

ander, made Selena, the ſiſter of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She ſent her two ſons, Antiochus Aſiaticus and Seleucus, whom ſhe had by Antiochus Euſebes, to Rome, to ſollicit the ſenate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which ſhe had always oppoſed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with thoſe of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a reſidence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual ſollicitations, they ſet out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldeſt *, called Antiochus, reſolved to paſs by the way of Sicily. He experienced an inſult there, which is hardly credible, and ſhows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we ſpeak of, to what exceſs the avarice of the magiſtrates ſent into the provinces roſe, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, and in the ſight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time prætor in Sicily. As ſoon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuſe, as he had reaſon to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by ſending Antiochus preſents conſiderable enough, conſiſting in proviſions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to ſupper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables ſet off with all his veſſels of the moſt excellent

* Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque iſto (Verre) prætore venit Syracuſas. Hic Verres hæreditatem ſibi veniſſe arbitratus eſt, quod in ejus regnum ac manus veneratis, quem iſte & audierat multa ſecum præclara habere & ſuſpicabatur. Mittit homini munera ſatis larga: hæc ad uſum domeſticum, vini, olei, quod viſum erat, etiam triciti quod ſatis eſſet. Deinde ipſum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vaſa argentea.——Omnibus curat rebus inſtructum & paratum ut ſit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita diſceſſit, ut & iſtum copioſe ornatum, & ſe honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.

cellent workmanſhip, of which he had a great number. The feaſt was ſumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing ſhould be wanting to make it ſo. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and ſtill better ſatisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He * invites Verres to ſupper in his turn; expoſes all his riches, multitudes of ſilver veſſels, and not few cups of gold ſet with jewels, after the cuſtom of kings, and eſpecially thoſe of Syria. There was among the reſt a very large veſſel for wine, made out of one precious ſtone. Verres takes each of theſe veſſels into his hand one after the other, praiſes and admires them; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment.

From † thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to riſle Antiochus, and ſend him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He ſent to deſire that he would let him have the fineſt of the veſſels he had ſeen at his houſe, under pretence of ſhowing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or ſuſpicion. The prætor ſent again, to deſire that he would lend him the veſſel made of a ſingle precious ſtone, that he might conſider them more exactly, as he ſaid. The king ſent him that alſo.

But to crown all, ‡ the kings of Syria, of whom we

* Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipſe prætorem. Exponit ſuas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ ut mos eſt regius, & maxime in Syria, gemmis erant diſtincta clariſſimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi. — Iſte unumquodque vos in manus ſumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani ſatis jucundum & gratum illud eſſe convivium.

† Poſtea quam inde diſceſſum eſt, cogitare iſte nihil aliud, quod ipſa res declaravit, niſi quemadmodum regem ex provincia ſpoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatam vaſa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait ſe ſuis cælatoribus velle oſtendere. Rex, qui iſtum non noſſet, ſine ulla ſuſpicione libentiſſime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle ſe eam diligentius conſiderare. Ea quoque mittitur.

‡ Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite — Candelabrum è gemmis clariſſimis opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attuliſſent ut in Capitolio ponerent: quod nondum etiam per-

we ſpeak, had carried a branch-ſcone with them to Rome, of ſingular beauty, as well from the precious ſtones with which it was adorned, as its exquiſite workmanſhip. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finiſhed, they would not leave it behind them, nor ſuffer any body to have a ſight of it; in order, that when it ſhould appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the ſurpriſe might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new ſplendour to the preſent. They therefore choſe to carry it back into Syria, reſolving to ſend ambaſſadours to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongſt many others, to the god, when they ſhould know that his ſtatue was ſet up in the temple.

Verres * was informed of all this by ſome means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the ſconce concealed; not that he feared or ſuſpected any thing, but that few people might ſee it before expoſed to the publick view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earneſtly begged him to ſend it him,

perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgò oſtendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, & magnificentius videretur, cum ſuo tempore in ſella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, & clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id ſecum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audiſſent ſimulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

* Pervenit res ad iſtius aures neſcio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat: non quo quidquam metueret aut ſuſpicaretur, ſed ut ne multi illud antè percipierent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iſte perit a rege, & cum plurimus verbis rogat, uti ad ſe mittat: cupere ſe dicit inſpicere, neque ſe aliis videndi poteſtatem eſſe facturum. Antiochus, qui animo & puerili eſſet & regio, nihil de iſtius improbitate ſuſpicatus eſt. Imperat ſuis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultiſſime deferrent. Quò poſteaquàm attulerunt, involucriſque rejectis conſtituerunt, iſte clamare cœpit, dignam rem eſſe regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo ſplendore, qui ex clariſſimis & plurimis gemmis eſſe debebat; ea varietate operum ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi poſſet, non ad hominum apparatum, ſed ad ampliſſimi templi ornamentum, eſſe factum. Quod cum ſatis jam perſpixeſſe videretur, tolere incipiunt ut referrent. Iſte ait ſe velle illud etiam atque etiam conſiderare: nequaquam ſe eſſe ſatiatum. Jubet illos diſcedere, & candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

him, expreſſing a great deſire to examine it, and promiſing to let nobody elſe ſee it. The young prince, with the candour and ſimplicity of whoſe youth the noble ſentiments of his birth were united, was far from ſuſpecting any bad deſign. He ordered his officers to carry the ſconce ſecretly to Verres, well covered from ſight; which was done accordingly. As ſoon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a preſent worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly ſplendid from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanſhip, in which art ſeemed to vie with the materials; and at the ſame time of ſo large a ſize, that it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh, it was not intended to be uſed in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vaſt and ſuperb temple. The officers of Antiochus having given the prætor full time to conſider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leiſure, and that his curioſity was not yet ſufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the ſconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The * king was not alarmed at firſt, and had no ſuſpicion: One day, two days, ſeveral days paſſed, and the ſconce was not brought home. The prince therefore ſent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in perſon to him, and prayed him to reſtore it. Who would believe it? That very ſconce,

* Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil ſuſpicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad iſtum, ſi ſibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iſte poſterius ad ſe reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipſe hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis inſignemque impudentiam cognoſcite. Quod ſciret, quodque ex ipſo rege audiſſet, in Capitolio eſſe ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. ſervari videret, id ſibi ut donaret, rogare & vehementer petere cœpit. Cum ille ſe religione Jovis Capitolini & hominum exiſtimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes teſtes eſſent illius operis ac muneris: iſte homini minari acerrimi cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem diſcedere. Ait ſe comperiſſe, ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam eſſe venturos.

ſconce, which he knew from the prince himſelf was to be ſet up in the Capitol, and deſigned for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earneſtly intreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excuſing himſelf, both from the vow he had made to conſecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgement which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanſhip of it, and knew for whom it was deſigned, would paſs upon ſuch an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the ſharpeſt terms; but when he ſaw his menaces had no more effect than his intreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reaſon, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The * king upon that withdrew to the publick place, and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous aſſembly of the Syracuſans, calling the gods and men to witneſs, that Verres had taken from him a ſconce of gold, enriched with precious ſtones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument in that auguſt temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other veſſels of gold and jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to ſee that ſconce taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconſolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that ſconce was already conſecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, preſented, dedicated, and conſecrated it again to that god, in the preſence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called

* Rex maximo conventu Syracuſis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque conteſtans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium miſſurus eſſet, quod in templo clariſſimo, populo Rom. monumentum ſuæ ſocietatis amicitiæque eſſe voluiſſet, id ſibi C. Verrem abſtuliſſe. De cæteris operibus ex auro & gemmis, quæ ſua penes illum eſſent, ſe non laborare: hoc ſibi eripi miſerum eſſe & indignum. Id etſi antea jam, mente & cogitatione ſuæ fratriſque ſui, conſecratum eſſet: tamen tum ſe in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, conſecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. teſtemque ipſum Jovem ſuæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

called Jupiter to witneſs to the ſentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Antiochus Aſiaticus, being returned into Aſia, ſoon after aſcended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the ſpace of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom, during the war againſt Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been ſo groſsly injured by the prætor himſelf, a gueſt plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the higheſt indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almoſt all the magiſtrates ſent by Rome into provinces; a crime which the ſenate and people ſeemed to approve, and of which they made themſelves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We * have ſeen for ſeveral years," ſays the ſame Cicero, in another of his Orations againſt Verres, "and have ſuffered in ſilence, the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private perſons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine, all Aſia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now encloſed in ſome of the country-houſes of thoſe rich and unjuſt men of rapine, whilſt money is univerſally a prodigious rarity every where elſe. And we have juſt reaſon to believe, that ourſelves connive in all theſe crying and terrible diſorders, as thoſe who commit, take no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and depra-

* Patimur multos jam annos & ſilemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias perveniſſe. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo iſtorum diſſimulat, nemo laborat, ut obſcura ſua cupiditas eſſe videatur.——Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum eſſe arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam, totam denique Aſiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis incluſas eſſe videatis. *Cic. in Ver. ult. de Suppl.* n. 125, 126.

"depredations from the eyes and knowledge of the "publick."

Such was Rome at the time we now ſpeak of, which ſoon occaſioned its ruin, and the loſs of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to conſider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a ſtate, to examine their cauſes and effects, to enter thus into men's moſt ſecret retirements, to uſe that expreſſion, to ſtudy cloſely the characters and diſpoſitions of thoſe who govern, is a much more important part of hiſtory, than that which only treats of ſieges, battles, and conqueſts: to which however we muſt return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and ſeditions, occaſioned by the powerful faction of the Phariſees, that continually oppoſed him, becauſe he was not of a diſpoſition to ſuffer himſelf to be rid by them. His death (*b*) did not put an end to thoſe diſorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed ſupreme adminiſtratrix of the nation according to the king's laſt will. She cauſed her eldeſt ſon Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high prieſt. The Phariſees continually perſiſted in perſecuting thoſe who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princeſs, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her ſole heir, but Ariſtobulus, his younger brother, had the ſtrongeſt party, and took his place. A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

Nothing (*c*) but troubles and violent agitations were to be ſeen on all ſides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a baſtard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate ſon. He was ſurnamed *Auletes*, that is to ſay, *the player upon the flute*, becauſe he valued himſelf ſo much upon playing well upon that inſtrument, that he diſputed the prize of it in the publick games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him; Pompey would A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

(*b*) Joſeph. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 23, 24. & de Bell. Judaic. l. 4 & A. M. 3934. Ant J. C. 70. (*c*) Sueton. in Jul. Cæſ. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

would not interfere in his affairs, becauſe they were foreign to his commiſſion. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there ſome time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The ſucceſſion was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had poſſeſſed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had ſuſtained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into conſideration by the ſenate. Some (*d*) were of opinion, that it was neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Egypt, and of the iſland of Cyprus, of which the teſtator had been ſovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the ſenators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken poſſeſſion of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been alſo given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all thoſe countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they alſo accepted Egypt and the iſle of Cyprus in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces. might give too great umbrage, and expreſs too clearly a deſign formed to engroſs in the ſame manner all other ſtates. They believed beſides, that this enterpriſe might involve them in another war, which would embarraſs them very much, whilſt they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themſelves for the preſent with cauſing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the reſt of his eſtates. This proceeding ſufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the ſequel will fully explain.

This was the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very ſingular cuſtom, and almoſt unheard-of in all other hiſtory, which undoubtedly does great honour to thoſe in whoſe favour it was eſtabliſhed. The uſual methods of extending the bounds

(*d*) Cicer. Orat. ii. in Rullum. n. 41—43.

bounds of a ſtate, are war, victory, and conqueſt. But with what enormous injuſtice and violence are thoſe methods attended, and how much devaſtation and blood muſt it coſt to ſubject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are ſhed. It is a pacifick and legitimate increaſe of power, the ſimple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another ſort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being ſo, but it is no leſs dangerous on that account, I mean ſeduction: when to obtain the ſuffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, ſecret colluſions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the perſons of the higheſt credit and authority in ſtates and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a diſtance, and do not ſeem to have any ſhare. In this we now ſpeak of, there was not a viſible trace of policy ſo common with princes, and which, ſo far from making any ſcruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the firſt, if I am not miſtaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any ſtrict union with that republick, during the ſhort time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from uſing any arts to attain the ſucceſſion to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in ſome meaſure obliged to it againſt their will. It does not appear that they were more ſollicitous, either in publick or private, with Nicodemus king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced theſe princes to act in this manner? Firſt, gratitude: the houſe of Attalus was indebted for all its ſplendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them againſt Mithridates: And next, love for their people, the deſire of procuring a laſting tranquillity for them, and the idea

they had of the wiſdom, juſtice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful ſucceſſors; for baſtards were not looked upon as ſuch. They had only in view the future diviſions and civil wars that might ariſe about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria ſupplied them with dreadful examples. They ſaw with their own eyes, the tranquillity and happineſs enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the ſituation of which we ſpeak, had but three things to chooſe; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to reſtore to his ſubjects their entire liberty, by inſtituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The firſt choice undoubtedly expoſed the kingdom to all the horrours of a civil war, which the factions and jealouſies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: and the prince's love for his ſubjects induced him to ſpare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the ſecond choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whoſe genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republicks. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a ſhare in the preſent queſtion, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates ſupply us with examples of the ſame kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wiſely than to leave his ſubjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and reſpected by the whole univerſe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjuſt and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil diviſions and bloody diſcords did he ſpare them by this kind of teſtamentary diſpoſition

ſition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans out of a noble diſintereſtedneſs, having refuſed the gift the king had made them at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itſelf up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thouſand factions, furious to madneſs againſt each other, and, in a word, become like a ſhip without a pilot in the midſt of the moſt violent ſtorms, it ſuffered many years the moſt incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in ſome manner to force, the Romans to vouchſafe to take the government of it upon themſelves.

Beſides this, a prince by ſuch conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageouſly for his people, what muſt neceſſarily have happened ſooner or later. Was there any city or ſtate capable of making head againſt the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, eſpecially when the royal family was extinct, could ſupport itſelf, and its independence, long againſt them? There was an inevitable neceſſity for its falling into the hands of that people, and, for that reaſon it was highly conſiſtent with prudence to ſoften the yoke by a voluntary ſubjection, for they made a great difference between the people who ſubmitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and thoſe who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, and being reduced, by reiterated defeats, to give way at laſt to a conqueror. We have ſeen with what ſeverity the Macedonians, at leaſt the principal perſons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; eſpecially during the firſt years of their ſubjection.

The other nations ſuffered nothing of that kind, and generally ſpeaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by thoſe who bore it. The ſubjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperours themſelves, was rather a means to aſſure the publick tranquillity, than a ſervitude heavy upon private perſons, and prejudicial to ſociety.

Moſt

Moſt of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magiſtrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means ſecured from all the inconveniencies and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had ſo long and ſo cruelly diſtreſſed the republick of Greece in the time of their anceſtors. So that the Greeks ſeemed to be great gainers in ranſoming themſelves from theſe inconveniencies, by ſome diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces ſometimes ſuffered very much from the avarice of governors. But thoſe were only tranſient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodneſs and juſtice of a worthy ſucceſſor applied a ſpeedy redreſs, and which, after all, were not comparable to the diſorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, againſt each other, were attended, and ſtill leſs to the violences and ravages, occaſioned by the inſatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and ſtates.

An evident proof of the wiſdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed againſt that diſpoſition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuſe the Romans entirely in this place, nor to juſtify their conduct in all things. I have ſufficiently obſerved the views of intereſt, and political motives of their actions. I only ſay, that the Roman government, eſpecially with regard to thoſe who ſubmitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the ſource of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppreſſors, who made the Roman people authoriſe the moſt flagrant injuſtice, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee an example: but there was always a conſiderable number of citizens, zealous for the publick good, who roſe up againſt thoſe violences, and declared

declared loudly for juſtice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius (*e*), who commanded a ſmall fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken priſoner by the pirates of that coaſt, againſt whom he had been ſent. He cauſed Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be deſired in his name to ſend him money to pay his ranſom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, ſent him only two talents. The pirates choſe rather to releaſe Clodius without ranſom, than to take ſo ſmall a one. A. M. 3946. Ant J. C. 58.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as ſoon as poſſible. He had found means to get himſelf elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made uſe of it for the deſtruction of his enemy. He pretended, that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in conſequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to ſeiſe the kingdom of Cyprus, to depoſe Ptolemy, and to confiſcate all his effects. To put ſo unjuſt an order in execution, he had credit and addreſs enough to have the juſteſt of the Romans elected, I mean Cato, whom he * removed from the republick, under the pretext of an honourable commiſſion, that he might not find him an obſtacle to the violent and criminal deſigns he meditated. Cato was therefore ſent into the iſle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deſerved that affront, ſays an hiſtorian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vice ſufficiently authoriſed ſeiſing all his fortunes.

Cato,

(*e*) Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

* P. Clodius in ſenatu ſub honorificentiſſimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relagavit. Qui pelegem tulit, ut is—mitteretur in inſulam Cyprum, ad ſpoliandum regno Ptolemæum omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum. *Vell. Prc.* l. ii. c. 45.

Cato (*f*), upon his arrival at Rhodes, ſent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promiſed him, if he complied, to procure him the high-prieſthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were ſufficiently conſiderable for his honourable ſubſiſtence. Ptolemy rejected that propoſal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himſelf againſt the power of the Romans; but could not reſolve, after having worn a crown ſo long, to live as a private perſon. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treaſures, and put to ſea. His deſign was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ſhip, that it might ſink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpoſe, though he perſiſted conſtantly in the reſolution of dying himſelf, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treaſures in his ruin; and thereby * ſhowed, that he loved them better than he did himſelf, by the title of king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean ſlave of his money. He returned to ſhore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poiſoned himſelf, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried thoſe treaſures the following year to Rome. The ſum was ſo large, that in the greateſt triumphs the like had ſcarce been laid up in the publick treaſury. Plutarch makes it amount to almoſt ſeven thouſand talents (one million and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling). Cato cauſed all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be ſold publickly; reſerving only to himſelf a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoicks, the ſentiments of which ſect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the maſk, and ſhow themſelves not ſuch as they had been in the glorious ages of the republick, full of contempt for riches, and eſteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and ſilver had entered Rome in triumph with

(*f*) Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

* Procul dubio hic non poſſedit titulo rex inſulæ, anime pecuniæ divitias, ſed a divitias poſſeſſus eſt; miſerabile mancipium.

with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of diſgracing and reproaching the Romans than this laſt action. " * The Roman people " (ſays Cicero) inſtead of making it their honour, and " almoſt their duty, as formerly, to re-eſtabliſh the " kings their enemies, whom they had conquered, " upon their thrones, now ſee a king, their ally, or " at leaſt a conſtant friend to the republick, who had " never done them any wrong, of whom neither the " ſenate or any of our generals had ever the leaſt " complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by " his anceſtors in tranquillity, plundered on a ſudden " without any formality, and all his effects ſold by " auction almoſt before his eyes, by order of the ſame " Roman people. This (continues Cicero) ſhows " other kings, upon what they are to rely for their " ſecurity; from this fatal example they learn, that " amongſt us, there needs only the ſecret intrigue of " ſome ſeditious tribune, for depriving them of their " thrones, and plundering them at the ſame time of " all their fortunes."

What I am moſt amazed at is, that Cato, the juſteſt and moſt upright man of thoſe times (but what was the moſt ſhining virtue and juſtice of the Pagans!) ſhould lend his name and ſervice in ſo notorious an injuſtice. Cicero, who had reaſons for ſparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, ſhows, however, in the ſame diſcourſe I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excuſing

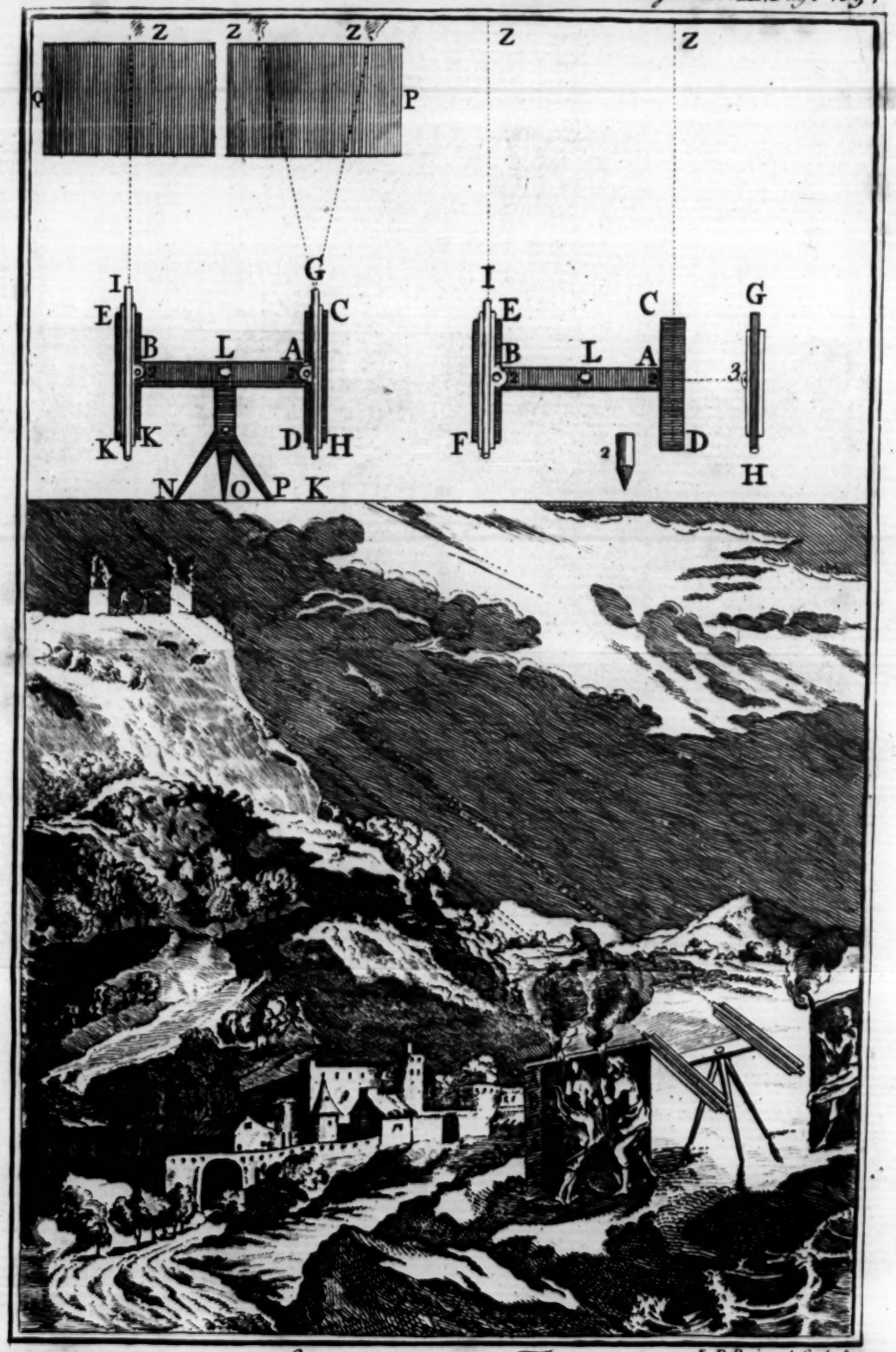
* Ptolemæus, rex, ſi nondum ſocius at non hoſtis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil ſuſpicante, eſt rogatum, ut ſedens cum purpura & ſceptro & illis inſignibus regiis, præconi publico ſubjiceretur, & imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere conſuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur —— Cyprius miſer, qui ſemper ſocius, ſemper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam ſuſpicio durior aut ad ſenatum, aut ad imperatores noſtros allata eſt: vivus (ut aiunt) eſt & videns, cum victu & veſtitu ſuo, publicatus. Encur cæteri reges ſtabilem eſſe ſuam fortunam arbitrentur cum hoc illus funeſti anni perdito exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem ſe fortunis ſpoliari (poſſe) & regno omni nudari. *Cic. Orat. pro Sextino.* n. 57.

him, how much he had diſhonoured himſelf by that action.

During Cato's ſtay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reſerve for the following book the hiſtory of that prince, which merits a particular attention.

END OF VOL. VI.





Signals made by Fire.

L.P. Boitard sculp.

Plate XI

THE EAST.

Drawn by
Mr D'ANVILLE
for
ROLLIN's ANTIENT HISTORY.

E. Bowen Sculp.

MEDI-TERRANEAN

MOUTHS of the NILE

EGYPT

ARABIA DESERTA

ARABIA PETRÆA

ARABIA FELIX

ARABIAN GULF

PERSIAN GULF

SYRIA

PHŒNICIA

PALESTINE

IDUMEA

MESOPOTAMIA

CHALDEA

SUSIANA

CISSIA

ATROPATENE

MEDIA

CHALONITIS

CHARIMENE

CAMBADENE

MASSABATENE

CORDUENE

ADIABENE

ASSYRIA

BABYLONIA

Common Greek Stades 600 to a Degree 94 Toise & a half each
300 600 900 1200

Stades 750 to a Degree
300 600 900 1200 1500

Macedonian Stades 54 Toise and half
500 1000 1500 2000

Roman Mile 735 Toise & half
50 100 150

Travelling Caravan Miles 3 in an hour
50 100 150

Arabic Mile of 1007 Toise or Fathom
30 60 90 120

Parseng or League of 3 Roman Mile
10 20 30 40 50

Parseng or League of 3 Arabic Mile
10 20 30 40

Leagues of 3000 Paces or 2500 Toise
10 20 30 40 50

Longitude from Ferro

Plate XII.

ASIA MINOR
AND THE EUXIN SEA.

For the Antient History of Mr ROLLIN,

BY THE Sr D'ANVILLE
Geograph.r in ord.r to y.e French King
Octob.r 1740.

PONTUS EUXINUS

SCYTHIA

MÆOTIS PALUS

MÆSIA

THRACIA

PROPONTIS

BITHYNIA

PHRYGIA

PISIDIA

LYCIA

PAMPHYLIA

CILICIA

CAPPADOCIA

ARMENIA

COLCHIS

IBERIA

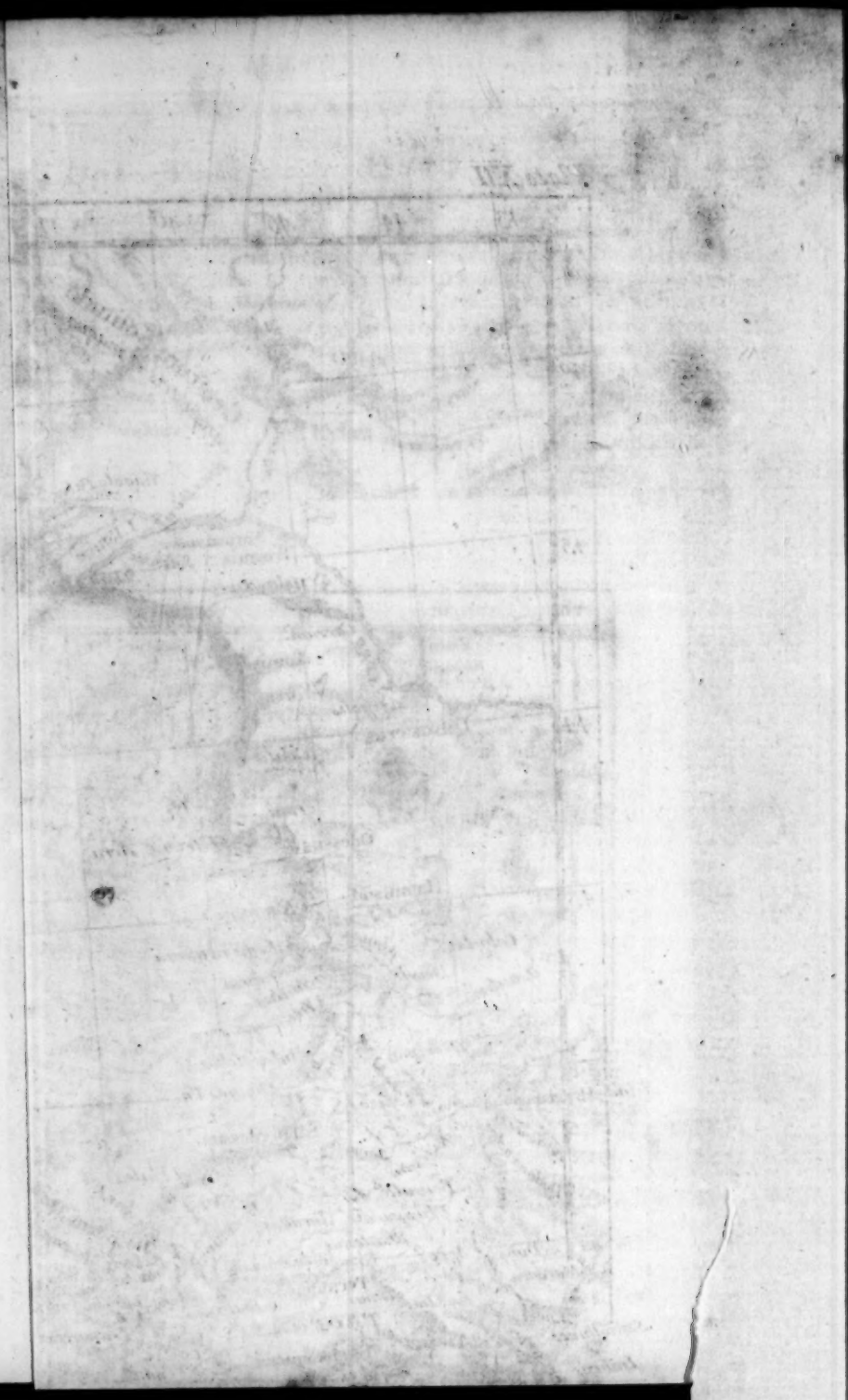
ALBANIA

Greek Stadia, valu'd at 94 Toises, 2 Feet, 8 Inches.
300 600 900 1200

Roman Miles, valued at 755 Toises, 3 Feet.
50 100 150

French Lieues of 3000 Geometrical Paces, or 4560 Toises.
10 20 30 40 50

R.W. Seale sculp.



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